CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

Canada

NL 339 (r. 86/09)

0-315-19613-0

National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Division
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Division des thèses canadiennes

2nd

67521

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

- Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur: TREVOR SLACK

Date of Birth — Date de naissance: 15th Oct 1948

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance: U.K.

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe: 11127-73rd Ave, Edmonton, Alberta T6G0C5

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse: An Organizational Case Analysis of a Voluntary Sport Organization

University — Université: Alberta

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée: Ph.D.

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade: 1983

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse: Dr. R.G. Glassford

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date: 17th Oct '83

Signature: T. Slack

NL-91 (4/77)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

An Organizational Case Analysis of a Voluntary Sport Organization

by

© Trevor Slack

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Physical Education and Sport Studies

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL, 1983

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR Trevor Slack

TITLE OF THESIS An Organizational Case Analysis of a Voluntary Sport Organization

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED Ph.D.

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED 1983

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(SIGNED) T. Sl

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

11127 - 73rd Avenue
Edmonton
Alberta

DATED Oct. 15th 1983.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled An Organizational Case Analysis of a Voluntary Sport Organization submitted by Trevor Slack in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D..

R.G. Glassford
Supervisor

Thomas L. Burton

Dallas Cullen

Earle F. Zeigler

Date: Oct 11th, '83

Dedication

To my wife Janet

If my mind can conceive it
and my heart can believe it,
I know I can achieve it.

Rev. Jesse Jackson.

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to undertake an organizational case analysis of a voluntary sport organization. The organization which was selected for the research was The Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. Seven sub-problem areas were identified as the specific focus for the study. These sub-problems were as shown below.

1. To investigate if and why the bureaucratization of the selected volunteer sport organization is occurring.
2. If bureaucratization is taking place, to investigate what manifestations of this bureaucratization are apparent in the volunteer sport organization.
3. To investigate what possible consequences may occur as a result of this bureaucratization.
4. To investigate if and why class and gender inequalities exist in the volunteer sport organization.
5. To investigate how those individuals and/or organizational sub-units which hold power within the voluntary sport organization gain their status.
6. To investigate if and why power in the voluntary sport organization is centralized in certain geographic areas.
7. To investigate the relationship of the volunteer sport organization to its environment and to determine what influence this environment has on the volunteer sport organization.

Data were obtained using two research techniques. First, 34 focused interviews were conducted with past and present members of the organization. All of the interviews were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. Second, organizational documents were collected, which covered the period 1934 to 1983. Both data sets were subjected to latent content analysis. The material from the content analysis combined with existing literature were used to generate the results of the study.

It was shown that bureaucratization was taking place through a process termed the routinization of charisma. Several manifestations of bureaucracy were present in the voluntary sport organization and a pattern of bureaucratization was proposed. The perceived consequences of bureaucratization were shown to depend upon which theoretical perspective was adopted. In terms of class and gender inequality the study showed the existence of these two phenomena in the CASA(AS). Gender inequality was shown to result from the fact that most women lacked management experience in corporate organizations and this spilled over into their work with the voluntary sport organization. Five causes of class inequality were identified. These were: the socially advantageous position that some executive members started from; the process of social closure; the authority structure of capitalist society; the manufacturing division of labour under capitalism and the bureaucratic structure of the organization.

In terms of power three individuals and one organizational sub-unit, the coaches, were seen as being powerful in the organization. The main source of power was through access to resources. Power was also shown to be centralized in the larger urban areas. Three factors were identified as causing this centralization. These were: the risk of delegating power to lower level members; the lack of a deep hierarchy of authority and the appointment of professional staff.

The final sub-problem of the study examined the organizational environment of the voluntary sport organization. Examples of the utility of examining the environment as a factor in the development of the organization were presented.

Acknowledgements

In an undertaking of the magnitude of a doctoral dissertation there are many people who contribute to its ultimate successful completion. Specifically I would like to acknowledge the following people who have been instrumental in helping me with this study.

To my friend and advisor, Dr. Gerry Glassford, I am particularly grateful. His willingness and enthusiasm to help me with my work will long be appreciated. His kind manner, his support and encouragement served to make my time as his graduate student a very positive and worthwhile part of my life. To Dr. Ann Hall I owe an enormous debt of gratitude. Throughout my graduate career she has challenged and encouraged me to work to the best of my ability. As a scholar, colleague, and friend she is without parallel. To my friend Professor Bob Hinings, I am particularly grateful for his support and the opportunity to tap his unending supply of knowledge about organizations. To Dr. Dallas Cullen I owe a debt of gratitude for the tremendous help she has given me with this work. Her friendship, enthusiasm and good conversation were always appreciated. To Dr. Tim Burton, I am particularly grateful for his friendship and his ever present willingness to help me with all aspects of my study. I am especially grateful for the help and support he gave in regard to the research methodology of the study. Finally I would like to thank my external advisor, Dr. Earle Zeigler, for agreeing to travel to examine my work and make the insightful comments that he did.

Although not members of my thesis committee I would also like to thank two other friends and colleagues. Dr. Barry Mitchelson was the first person to kindle my interest in volunteers and, although on leave from the university, he has continued to be actively interested in my work and encourage me with it. To Dr. Gerry Redmond I am grateful for his help with many aspects of my reasearch, especially the assistance he has given me with format and writing style. I am also appreciative of his friendship throughout the last three years.

To all the members of the CASA(AS) who granted interviews or donated documents I am grateful, without them this study would never have been completed. I would particularly like to mention the help I received from Gwen Smith, Sherrald Moore and Peter Portlock.

I would also like to acknowledge the help and support of members of my family. My mother and father, Gladys and Herbert Slack, provided me with an upbringing that encouraged me to make the most of my potential. In later years they have continued to support my various endeavors. My mother and father-in-law, Mae and Joe Storcer, have also encouraged and assisted my wife and I in the quest to realize our goals.

Finally I acknowledge the great contribution that my wife Janet has made not only to this dissertation but to my life. Without the innumerable hours that she has spent typing, proofreading, correcting, loving and supporting I would never have finished. To her I owe my greatest debt of thanks and to her this dissertation is dedicated.

Table of Contents

Chapter Page

I. Statement of the Problem ... 1

A. Introduction ... 1

B. Personal Excursus ... 3

C. A Brief Overview of Research on Voluntary Organizations with Particular Reference to Sport Organizations ... 6

D. A Critique of Completed Research on Voluntary Sport Organizations ... 12

E. Setting the Stage: Topics of Concern for Researchers Interested in Voluntary Sport organizations ... 16

F. Statement of the Problem ... 31

G. Rationale for the Study ... 32

II. Review of Literature ... 35

A. Introduction ... 35

B. Bureaucracy ... 36

The Origins and Characteristics of Bureaucracy ... 36

The Bureaucratization of the Voluntary Sport Organization ... 40

The Consequences of the Bureaucratization of the Voluntary Sport Organization ... 47

C. Gender and Class Inequality ... 52

D. The Acquisition of Power ... 80

E. Centralization ... 94

F. The Environment of the Voluntary Sport Organization ... 101

III. Methods and Procedures ... 106

A. The Selection of the Voluntary Sport Organization ... 106

B. Research Methods and Data Gathering Techniques Used in This Study 108

C. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Focused Interview Technique as a Source of Data Collection for this Study 112

D. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Collection of Organizational Documents as a Data Source for This Study 118

E. Pilot Study for the Collection of Interview Data 120

F. Topics Addressed Through the Interview 121

G. Selection of the Interview Sample and Collection of Interview Data 126

H. Collection of Organizational Documents 128

I. Treatment of the Data 129

J. Content Analysis of the Data 129

K. Summary 131

IV. Results and Discussion 132

A. Introduction 132

The CASA(AS) 1983 132

B. The Bureaucratization of the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section 133

Introduction 133

The Formation of the CASA(AS):(1927-28) 135

The Early Years of the CASA(AS): The Routinization of Charisma (1928-1939) 143

The Years of Decline(1940-1948) 155

Regaining Lost Ground (1949 -54) 159

Years of Rapid Growth and Development (1955 - 1963) 165

Incorporation to Professional Staff(1963-1973) 177

The Increasing Professionalization of the CASA(AS)(1974-1983) 193

Conclusion 200

C. The Manifestations of Bureaucracy in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section 206

Introduction 206

Manifestations of Bureaucracy in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section 207

Conclusion 229

D. Consequences of the Bureaucratization of the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section 232

E. Gender Inequality in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. 238

F. Class Inequality in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association , Alberta Section 251

G. The Acquisition of Power in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section .264

H. The Centralization of Power in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section .277

I. The Organizational Environment of the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section .284

V. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations 297

A. Introduction 297

B. Summary 298

C. Conclusions 309

D. Recommendations 318

Bibliography 320

List of Tables

Table Page

1 Development of The Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section........................203

2 The Organizational Hierarchy of Amateur Swimming...214

3 Organizational Structure of The Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section..............215

4 Major Agencies in The Organizational Set of the CASA(AS) 292

Chapter I

Statement of the Problem

A. Introduction

In Canada amateur sport is organized through a vast network of voluntary groups. The important role that these groups play in the delivery of amateur sport has repeatedly been stressed in both federal and provincial government documents. Former Minister of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport Iona Campagnola noted in her National Policy on Amateur Sport(1979:15) that "...at every level of every sport there is a host of organizations, most of them voluntary dedicated to encouraging participation, identifying talent, generating training programs and providing opportunities for competition". Provincial Government documents from several provinces have likewise stressed the importance of these volunteer groups in the delivery of sport to the citizens of their respective provinces.

At its highest level volunteer involvement in amateur sport is manifest in such bodies as the Board of Governors of the National Sport and Recreation Centre Inc. and the Board of Directors of the Canadian Olympic Association. At the "grass roots" level it is evidenced in the plethora of sport clubs and community leagues that exist in all parts of the country. As amateur sport in Canada has grown so too has the number of voluntary organizations whose task it is to deliver sport to the populace. Federal, provincial and municipal level sport governing bodies are administered mainly by volunteers. However, despite their proliferation in the administration of amateur sport within Canada and their important role in delivering amateur sport to the populace, researchers in the sociology of sport and sport administration have paid little attention to volunteers and the organizations of which they are members. For several reasons it is regrettable that this void exists. First, as pointed out above, volunteers organize and administer a large number of the sport opportunities present in the country. Second, because it also has relevance for sociology, political science, and organizational theory, the area offers fertile ground for studies of an interdisciplinary nature. Third, there are many significant theoretical questions in the area that need to be answered. Finally, by size alone volunteers have tremendous economic impact on the delivery of sport in the country. As a consequence of these and other reasons it is imperative that if we are to fully understand the role that sport plays in society then we must understand the voluntary organizations which are the foundation of the sport delivery system. As a result of this belief the focus of this dissertation will be to examine some of the major questions concerning these types of organizations.

B. Personal Excursus

In recent years I have become increasingly interested in voluntary sport organizations and they are now central to a large part of my teaching and research commitments; more applied work with these groups also consumes a good portion of my non-work time. From a research point of view my first venture into the area was a Master's thesis which examined the biographic and demographic characteristics of sport volunteers and their patterns of involvement in sport organizations. While the research that I undertook was empirical in nature and no attempt was made to link the findings to broader theoretical questions, my results did serve to confirm what other sport sociologists had discovered with different samples. As time progressed I read more about voluntary organizations and more about the sociology of organizations. These readings along with class discussions and interaction with colleagues and students made me more cognizant of the fact that in this area there is a vast untapped potential for research studies and for applied work that would help improve amateur sport.

The readings that helped to shape some of the questions I would start to ask came basically from two sources. From writers on organizations I began to examine some of the questions that had been asked about organizations of a profit making nature. I was curious as to whether or not these same findings would hold true for voluntary organizations. I also began to see that concepts that were being studied by researchers interested in profit making organizations (e.g. power, bureaucratization, inequality) were the ones that should be examined by investigators studying voluntary groups.

From scholars writing in the area of the sociology of sport I gained several insights. First, I believe that the ongoing debate between competing theoretical perspectives or methodologies has made me more cognizant that sport should not be interpreted from a monolithic perspective. In fact each perspective has strengths and weaknesses and as researchers we can capitalize on these to develop our own work. Further to this I believe that these theoretical debates have heightened my awareness of the fact that the writings of other scholars could be used to inform my own work.

The second specific insight that I believe I have gained from my readings in the sociology of sport is that I have become more aware of the way in which the sub-discipline has developed. This insight has allowed me to identify some of the substantive questions that need to be asked and approaches that can be taken to asking these questions.

For example, Gruneau(1981:20) has suggested that the development of the sociology of sport "as it is presently practiced offers a graphic demonstration of the scope and depth of sociology's more general state of crisis". The crisis that Gruneau refers to is that outlined by Anthony

Giddens(1973) in his book The Class Structure of Advanced Societies. This crisis, Giddens suggests, arose because in post war years sociology has deviated from its early synthetic characteristics. That is to say social theory has been severed "from the concerns which originally...inspired all of the most prominent social thinkers -- the nature of the transformation which destroyed 'traditional' society and created a new modern order" (Giddens,1973:17). What has happened is that as the discipline has progressed it has gradually developed its own parameters and frames of reference which have subsequently limited the type of research questions asked. New "sub-sociologies" have developed (for example, the sociology of sport) and with the emergence of these sub-disciplines there has been a tendency to focus on cross sectional descriptive studies which merely generate social facts. Researchers have for the most part failed to situate their findings in terms of the broader social milieu in which they exist. What Gruneau calls for is that sociology, and particularly the sociology of sport, needs to return to the types of studies that consider phenomena in their social and cultural context. Paraphrasing Mills, he suggests:

> ...any sociologist interested in understanding the changing nature of politics, education, sports, the arts or any prominent feature of social existence would be well advised to concentrate on those developmental 'problems' that relate the 'personal troubles' individuals have experienced in different eras to changing 'public issues' of social structure or more optimistically perhaps to relate these 'troubles' to social formations that limit the expansion of individual capacities to a level that

> falls far short of what one might expect under the social circumstances in question(1981:9).

Indeed it would be my hope that this study, as it attempts to recognize the problems of development and the 'personal troubles' that beset volunteers, would also relate these to the structure of the voluntary organization, to the structure of sport and, in turn, to the structure of our society. Such an approach would help ascertain whether or not these structures are factors which limit or enhance the development of both individuals and of sport.

C. A Brief Overview of Research on Voluntary Organizations with Particular Reference to Sport Organizations

The major research studies that have examined volunteers and voluntary organizations can be classified into three identifiable areas. The first of these concerns the creation of typologies into which different kinds of voluntary organizations can be placed. Although work in this area has generated several different classification schemes (e.g. Warriner and Prather, 1965; Booth, Babchuk and Knox, 1968; and Babchuk and Booth, 1969) the most parsimonious and functional is the instrumental/expressive typology developed by Gordon and Babchuk(1959). These researchers suggest that instrumental associations:

> ...do not exist primarily to furnish activities for members as an end in itself, but serve as social influence organizations designed to maintain or create some normative condition or change(1959:25).

Examples of instrumental voluntary organizations are The United Way, The International Foundation for Animal Welfare and Sport Alberta.

Expressive voluntary organizations "are formed to express or satisfy the interests of their members" (Rose, 1954:52). Examples of this type of organization are The Alberta Rose Growers Association, The St. Albert Bridge Club and The Edmonton Police Basketball League.

In a study of badminton and judo clubs, Jacoby (1965:170) found that there was a high expressive and low instrumental orientation among the membership of these clubs. Bratton(1970:167), in a study which examined the membership of volleyball and swimming associations at the local, provincial and national levels, found that "many executives view their participation from an instrumental standpoint, i.e., serving an integrative function for the larger societal system. Beamish (1978:4) also pointed out that at the executive level amateur sport organizations, "because they stress efficiency and require more specialized skills ...are classified as instrumental associations".

It would appear then that when we apply the Gordon and Babchuk typology to most amateur sport organizations, for the executive members there is a strong instrumental orientation but for the membership the expressive function is paramount. Bratton supports this idea when he notes:

> From the standpoint of the executive member, participation in their particular sport is valued because it is seen to contribute to different perceived needs of individual participants. This

> contribution, then, serves an integrative function for the society as a whole by hopefully instilling certain value orientations in the young athletes that are deemed to be important by the executive members, and perhaps by many others in the society. At the same time, the association provides a setting in which executive members may engage in expressive activities, and in so doing, it serves an integrative function for the personality system of the executive member (1970:168).

It may be concluded then that in terms of the Gordon and Babchuk typology amateur sport organizations can be classified as instrumental-expressive organizations in that they "seem to manifest both functions".

A second and larger area of research concerns measuring rates of participation in voluntary organizations (cf. Hausknecht, 1962; Hyman and Wright, 1971 and Curtis, 1971). Although these studies have varied in their results they have generally pointed to the fact that Canadians and Americans can be classified as what Hausknecht(1962) has termed "a nation of joiners". In studies that have examined the extent of voluntary activity in sport the only available data is from a 1981 Statistics Canada Study. This research pointed out that 24.1% of people who volunteered did so in the category termed "Leisure Activities". This included involvement in athletic associations.

The third and largest area of research consists of studies that have examined the social characteristics of volunteers. Examples of this type of work on voluntary organizations are those studies done by Foskett, (1955); Freeman, Novak and Reeder, (1957); Curtis, (1959); Hagedorn and Labovitz, (1967); Hodge and Treiman, (1968); Booth and

Babchuk, (1969) and Booth, (1972). Work done on sport organizations includes Bratton, (1970); Meisel and Lemieux, (1972); Beamish, (1978); Hollands and Gruneau, (1979); Theberge, (1980) and Slack, (1979). These studies have generally utilized bi-variate and multi-variate analyses; rate of participation has been the dependent variable and such factors as socioeconomic status, gender, ethnicity, age, marital status, geographic location and social origins have been the independant variables.

In the area of sport one of the first studies to examine volunteers was a doctoral dissertation by Bratton (1970). Bratton's data were collected from executive members of volleyball and swimming associations at the national, provincial (Manitoba and Alberta) and local levels. The study found that the executive members were predominantly married males from the upper socioeconomic levels. There was also an overrepresentation of Anglophones and non-Catholics in these positions. Some differences in age, marital status and sport related employment were found. These were explained by the fact that volleyball is predominantly played in educational institutions and is run by active athletes whereas swimming is predominantly a club sport run by swimmers' parents.

The 1972 study by Meisel and Lemieux was an examination of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association. Like Bratton, Meisel and Lemieux found an underrepresentation of Francophones on the CAHA executive and, somewhat surprisingly, they found that a similar situation existed in the Quebec Amateur Hockey Association. The researchers also pointed out that Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec did not always agree on the CAHA's ties with the National Hockey League.

The Beamish study, one of the most extensive and theoretically sound so far completed, examined the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the executive of 22 National Sport Governing Bodies. Like Bratton, Beamish found that these people came mainly from the upper socioeconomic strata: many had fathers who held high status employment, thus suggesting that their "current status may be related, in many cases, to a previously advantageous position through family placement in the occupational structure" (Beamish,1978:10). Other data showed Beamish's sample was mainly male anglophones who lived in one of the country's larger urban centres.

In an extension of the Beamish study Hollands and Gruneau examined the socioeconomic characteristics of volunteer sport executives in 1955 and 1965. These data combined with Beamish's collected in 1975 allowed these researchers to examine patterns of democratization in the administration of Canadian amateur sport. Two major conclusions were drawn from the data:

> First, in all three of the sample years national sports executives appear to have been recruited from a very narrow segment of the Canadian population. With few exceptions the sports executive appear to have come from that privileged class of "joiners" that has always defined the core of the Canadian

> bourgeoisie. Secondly, there is little or no evidence of any "democratization" in patterns of executive recruitment on either class or status terms. Possible exceptions may be shown in slight percentage increases in the numbers of women executives and in the fact that status as a former high level athlete may be less important now than in the past(Hollands and Gruneau,1979:24).

Theberge's 1980 study surveyed the executive board members of five Ontario provincial sport governing bodies. Like previous studies the findings from this research showed that volunteer executives are predominantly males from the upper socioeconomic strata. Women were particularly underrepresented in technical positions and at the higher levels of administration.

In a similar study to Theberge's, Slack examined selected characteristics of volunteer sport administrators in Alberta. Three major areas were identified for investigation i) biographic and demographic characteristics; ii) the administrator's involvement in his/her sport; and iii) involvement in other sport and non-sport related voluntary organizations. Like previous studies, this one also found volunteer administrators to be married males from the upper socioeconomic levels. A large number were of British descent, lived in one of the major cities in the province and showed stability in their place of residence. In terms of involvement in their sport most had been involved for several years and over half had played at provincial level or above. Many administrators were active in executive positions with other sport groups and approximately half held memberships in non-sport related voluntary organizations.

In conclusion, what we can say is that in the three areas of study undertaken on voluntary organizations, the majority of the work on sport groups has been of the nature of investigating the social characteristics of the administrators of these groups. It has been repeatedly shown that involvement in the administration of amateur sport is a predominantly male, upper socioeconomic phenomenon. Although other status giving characteristics have been presented, rarely has any theoretical explanation been offered for the results that were found.

D. A Critique of Completed Research on Voluntary Sport Organizations

In the section prior to this one what has been presented is a brief review of the major studies on voluntary sport organizations. Although these studies have provided researchers interested in this area with several insights, the work has for the most part been descriptive and atheoretical. As Beamish(1983:4) points out "there have not been many consistent attempts to a) integrate these data into sophisticated theoretical frameworks... or b) to use that theorizing to extend the analysis into further data collection which is obviated by the questions the theory lays bare."

The reasons why this situation has arisen are not totally clear. However, once again turning to Beamish's work we are provided with a logical and convincing argument as he suggests:

> I would maintain that studies in the area represent perfect examples of the abstracted empiricism C. Wright Mills trenchantly criticized in The Sociological Imagination.(see also Willer and Willer 1973). The studies fail to address the intersection of personal biography with the history of social structure; they are easily run by technicians; they are perfect projects for those who have been subsumed by the bureaucratic ethos and the liberal practicality that Mills describes so well(Mills 1959, pp.50-118). All of these factors, each in its own way and in combination with one another, has(sic) discouraged either internally generated theorization on any large scale or the integration of these findings into already existing macro and micro frameworks.
>
> A second reason for the lack of theory in this area may well be due to the location of voluntary associations in the world of private work rather than social labour. Since there is a strong tendency to separate the sphere of private work from the world of remunerated labour, the most logical body of sociological theory that would be relevant -- that of industrial sociology -- has been seen as inappropriate to the study of voluntary associations (1983:5).

In an attempt to remedy this problem which exists in the sociological study of voluntary sport organizations we should turn our attention to two areas. First, we should attempt to provide our research with a sound theoretical base. Here the works of such classical academics as Marx and Weber would have obvious ramifications for the study of voluntary sport organizations. Also the writings of more contemporary theorists such as Lukes and Giddens could be used to explain some of the questions which previous research has left unanswered.

A second approach would be to attempt to utilize some of the work completed by researchers in the sociology of organizations to answer questions relating to voluntary sport organizations. Here the work of such people as Kanter, Downs, "The Aston Group", Pfeffer and Aldrich would all prove useful for different areas of concern.

An example of how, at least, the first approach can be utilized is provided by the research undertaken by Beamish(1978). As previously mentioned Beamish's study is the most theoretically informed of all work completed on voluntary sport organizations. It examined the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the administrators of twenty-two national amateur sport organizations and like other studies, he found that these people came from high socioeconomic backgrounds. Beamish explains his findings using Marx's analysis of the class structure of capitalist society. He suggests(1978:16) that in such a society, where production is based on capital, "fundamental changes occur within the labour process and in the relations between workers and owners of the means of production". The fundamental changes that Beamish refers to may essentially be taken to mean that the production process is divided up into a series of steps(i.e., there is a division of labour). As a result of this division we see that the labour process which at one time involved both hand and head labour or the conception and execution of a task is now separate. As Beamish(1978:16) notes "the planning is undertaken by a small group of workers in one place while the manual production is done in another by a second larger group of workers". While this type of task fragmentation may have merit in terms of cost reduction its social significance for such processes as the administration of amateur sport should be obvious.

As Beamish(1978:18) notes "the lives of the majority of Canadians -- an overwhelming majority -- involve non-creative and non-administrative mediation in their work place. Only a very small segment of the population has daily involvement with the skills, knowledge and powers that are required and utilized in hierarchically controlled organizations". Since the organizations that govern amateur sport in the country are similarly controlled it would seem feasible to suggest that the administration of these organizations is also restricted to this narrow stratum of people who have obtained the prerequisite skills through their work place.

What Beamish has done is not just describe the social characteristics of voluntary sport organization executives. Rather, he has attempted to explain his findings in terms of the structural constraints existing in these types of organizations and in society. While Beamish chose to use a Marxist analysis for his work, as previously pointed out, other theoretical positions also have merit in terms of explanation. Only by adopting these types of theoretical bases for our work, and building on what has been done in such fields as organizational sociology, sociology of occupations, industrial sociology and so on, will we move from the static descriptive type of studies that we have seen in the past to studies that explain the role of voluntary sport organizations in a more socially meaningful manner.

E. Setting the Stage:Topics of Concern for Researchers Interested in Voluntary Sport organizations

In the first section of this dissertation it was pointed out that voluntary sport organizations, although important to the delivery of sport in the country, have received little attention from researchers in the sociology of sport and sport administration. Several other researchers have supported this argument. For example, in discussing future perspectives for research in the sociology of sport McPherson suggests:

> the structure and social organization of voluntary minor and adult sport associations should be studied...whereas recent attempts have been made to examine professional and college sports as formal organizations, little attention has been paid to the organizational problems inherent in the plethora of voluntary minor sport associations which exist throughout the world. This area would appear to offer many avenues of inquiry for both those interested in the structure and process of organizations, and those interested in identifying and alleviating practical problems found in the minor sport associations in their community(1975:67-68).

Lüschen(1980:331) in a paper entitled "Sociology of Sport:Development, Present State and Prospects" also notes that "sport organizations on the local, national and international level are voluntary organizations. The merits of a sociological analysis of these could be many both for sport and for organizational theory".

It is clear then that there is a need for research into voluntary sport organizations. As pointed out in sections C and D the research that has been undertaken in the area has focused mainly on the biographic and demographic characteristics of the individual volunteers. Little work has been done which has attempted to analyze the structural conditions of the organizations of which these volunteers are a part. Lüschen(1980:323) notes that studies of the individual membership of sport organizations predominate because they are first facilitated by reasonably easy accessibility through surveys. Second, they are an easily definable object of study since sport organizations and clubs have relatively clear membership criteria. Third, studies of this type are of considerable practical value for membership policies in sport organizations, since they provide information about the status of the membership.

Of the work that has been undertaken in the area of organizational analysis, both sport related and non-sport related, the majority has focused on organizations in which members are full-time paid employees. There are several reasons which may be suggested for the preponderance of work in this area. For example, the goals of this type of organization are usually clearly identifiable. This is not always the case in voluntary organizations in which the purpose of the organization is more likely to be defined according to the personal interests of the individual members. Second, in organizations of this type there exists a clear division of labour and consequently it is easier to determine interrelationships between tasks and how the various tasks contribute to the organization's operation. Third, these types of organizations have a relatively stable membership; therefore links between individuals and between departments are easier to analyze because of their relative permanence. Sills(1968:367) does, however, note that voluntary associations are a type of formal organization and that they exhibit some of the same characteristics as formal organizations of the nature described above. Hall(1977:41) suggests that "voluntary organizations are not a separate type of organization; they are confronted with the same problems as other organizations and share many of the same properties".

One of the properties traditionally associated with the study of formal organizations, but increasingly being applied to the examination of voluntary sport groups, is Max Weber's concept of bureaucratization. McPherson(1975:68), in describing voluntary sport organizations, notes that "many of these organizations are mini-bureaucracies comprised of individuals who volunteer their services and retain their tenured positions for many years".

Other sport sociologists Page, (1973); Ingham, (1975), (1978); Schlagenhauf and Timm, (1976); Frey, (1978) and Kidd, (1980) have studied bureaucratization and generally considered it to be a negative phenomenon. Although these researchers, for the most part, have focused on professional sport their studies do have relevance for the voluntary sport organization. Frey(1978:367) suggests that the bureaucratization of sport "reduces the organization's legitimacy in the eyes of its constituents, and prevents accumulation of a sufficient supply of energy to exceed what it needs for the manufacturing of its product". Lüschen, in discussing university level sport, notes that it is "almost worklike (grants in aid): it is serious, highly bureaucratized, restrictive and subject to external utilitarian pressures -- winning and losing, gate receipts, T.V. contracts and national prestige". Page suggests that:

> Sport clearly has not escaped the powerful thrust of bureaucracy to use the sociological concept that refers to the formalized, hierarchical, rule laden, and efficiency seeking type of social organization the principle prototypes of which are big government, modern business enterprise and the military establishment. The social revolution of sport, viewed in historical perspective, has been in large part the transition from both folk-rooted informal contests and the agonistic recreation of elites to its bureaucratization -- or in simple terms, from player-controlled "games" to the management controlled "big time"(1973:32).

Despite these and other negative commentaries on the bureaucratization of sport, it would appear that in Canada volunteer sport governing bodies are increasingly adopting the characteristics of what Weber terms a legal-rational bureaucracy. Manifestations of this tendency are clearly found in such areas as the increased number of certification programs and qualification requirements for those who hold office in voluntary organizations. In addition, there is an increasing tendency to appoint paid professional staff "to run" the voluntary organizations and an increasing formalization of the processes within the voluntary organization . Despite the fact that manifestations of bureaucracy are readily apparent in volunteer sport organizations, no study has yet attempted to determine why this trend is occurring, how the trend is manifest in different sport governing bodies, and what the consequences of this type of organizational structure are for amateur sport.

One of the reasons for this trend, as purported by those who are supportive of bureaucratization, is that the rationalization of amateur sport provides for a more meritocratic environment since the officials of the organization should be selected on the basis of professional qualifications and not on the basis of ascribed characteristics. Udy(1962) suggested that bureaucratic rationality is achieved when ascriptive characteristics of individuals, such as the social characteristics of family background, race and sex, no longer are important in selection and promotion in organizations. Another virtue of bureaucratization is that through a clear delineation of the function of officials and a hierarchy of offices, there is a reduction of dependency on the arbitrary whims of those in power. However, as Kanter notes:

> as one source of dependency on people is reduced, others spring up. People become dependent on those who can help them make their way through the system or who provide the means to bypass the rules that

> are behaviourally constraining or inappropriately applied. They become dependent on those with discretion over necessary resources, and to the extent that the system cannot be perfectly rationalized with pockets of uncertainty remaining those who control important contingencies retain a strong base for personal power(1977:171).

Essentially this may be taken to mean that those individuals and organizational sub-units which are able to influence decision making in the organization are those which will wield power within the organization.

Hickson *et al*.(1971) suggest the characteristics that give a sub-unit power are its ability to cope with uncertainty, its "substitutability" and its centrality. These characteristics may also be attributed to individuals who are able to wield power. Uncertainty itself does not give an organizational sub-unit or an individual power. It is the sub-unit's or individual's ability to cope with that uncertainty that gives it power. For example, if a voluntary organization is in need of financial help to run future programs, a sub-unit such as the finance committee or a particular individual may be the one which prevents financial uncertainty by raising funds. The ability of this sub-unit or individual to cope with or prevent the imminent uncertainty has the effect of conferring power through the dependencies it creates. One of the possible reasons which can be suggested for the increasing bureaucratization in sport organizations may be that the formalized structure of a bureaucracy helps to prevent some of the uncertainties often prevalent in less well defined voluntary organization structures.

As well as the sub-unit's ability to cope with uncertainty, another factor that can influence the power held by a sub-unit or an individual is "substitutability". Dubin(1963:21) suggested that "for any given level of functional importance in an organization, the power residing in a functionary is inversely proportional to the number of other functionaries in the organization capable of performing the function." For example, in a voluntary sport organization coaches who are thought to be able to develop top level athletes will hold a great deal more power if they cannot easily be replaced by another coach.

A final factor given by Hickson _et al_.(1971:221) that may affect the power held by an organizational sub-unit or by an individual is centrality: "the activities of a sub-unit (individual) are central if they are connected with many other activities in the organization" and "if they are essential in the sense that their cessation would quickly and substantially impede the primary workflow of the organization". In a voluntary sport organization a sub-unit which would fit the above requirements would be the central office(i.e., the executive director and his/her secretary); because all communication filters in and out of this office, and in view of the fact that it is concerned with many different aspects of the organization's operation it can be considered central to the functioning of the organization. As a result of the central position which is held, such a sub-unit could wield considerable power within the organization.

Other characteristics related to the acquisition of power in an organization are presented by Pfeffer (1977:293-297). Like Hickson _et al_.(1971), Pfeffer sees the ability to cope with uncertainty as a method of attaining power. Pfeffer also suggests that those sub-units and individuals which are able to acquire the resources considered to be necessary to the operation of an organization are the ones which acquire power. Sub-units and individuals can further gain power through building up alliances with internal and external groups that may affect the organization. Those individuals and sub-units who are able to gain power are aware of its value and realize that one of its sources is from social connections. Since many of these social connections are with other members of the organization and other sub-units with whom favours are exchanged it becomes important that power is only given to those who "fit in", i.e., those who are socially alike. This social homogeneity has frequently been found in business executives, and studies tend to suggest that it may also be prevalant in voluntary sport organizations. Bratton (1970), Beamish (1978), Theberge (1980), and Slack (1981) have found in several different samples that those individuals who comprise volunteer sport organization executives are mainly recruited from the middle and upper middle classes and are predominantly male.

This social homogeneity is usually the result of either one or both of the processes which may be termed "selective recruitment" and "selective expulsion". In these processes members are either selected for involvement or excluded from involvement because they possess certain social characteristics. If the individuals within an organization or an organizational sub-unit possess different social characteristics, then many feel this can result in internal conflict for the organization or sub-unit. As a result of this possibility those within the organization or sub-unit usually seek out new members whose social characteristics are similar to their own. Although this type of activity is not formalized by the policy and procedures of the organization, it does occur. It would appear that this is the case in volunteer amateur sport organizations, and as such it can be considered detrimental to the progress of amateur sport. As Beamish(1978:19) notes "if amateur sport is to be reflexive and meet the wants of the total Canadian population, then the formal institutionalization and centralization of its control within a narrow stratum of the Canadian middle class does not seem to be a viable means of advancing its growth and development".

Since class and gender inequalities exist in the power structure of amateur sport it is feasible to suggest that opportunities for participation in amateur sport are similarly controlled. For example, Gruneau(1976:115), in a study of the social origins of Canada Winter Games athletes found that the lower classes were very much underrepresented. Using the Blishen Index he found that 37% of athletes' fathers were classified in the upper three categories. This "contrasts starkly with the 17% of the male labour force who ostensibly engaged in such activities". Gruneau further exemplified the underrepresentation of athletes from underclass backgrounds when he noted that only 29% of the athletes' fathers came from the two lowest Blishen categories when 63% of the Canadian male labour force could be similarly classified. As a physical educator and specifically one who is interested in organizational and sociological aspects of sport it is my contention that figures such as those presented by Gruneau are a cause for concern.

For, if Canada, as a nation, is to realize its maximum potential in the area of amateur sport, then it is necessary to provide the broadest range of opportunities for individuals of both gender and all social classes. To achieve this objective it will be necessary to develop within amateur sport a more equitable distribution of power. In order to institute this change it will be necessary to gain an understanding as to why class and gender inequalities exist in positions of leadership in amateur sport and how those individuals who possess power in amateur sport organizations are able to gain such status.

The concept of power, it has been suggested by (Hall, 1977:181), is a pattern of distribution. As noted, in volunteer sport organizations much of this power is distributed to individuals in the middle and upper middle socioeconomic classes and to individuals of the male gender. Another concern about the distribution of power in volunteer sport organizations is that it is centralized into certain geographic areas. Beamish(1978:13), in a study of national level volunteer sport executives, found that just under 80% came from the major urban centers in Canada while only 48.9% of the entire population resided in such centers. In a similar study carried out in Alberta, Slack(1981:9) found that 83% of volunteer sport executives lived in the two major cities in the province, while only 50.4% of the population resided in these cities. Once again, it would be my suggestion that if amateur sport in Canada is to develop to its fullest potential, the power to make decisions relevant to amateur sport cannot be centralized with a minority of the population who live in the country's large metropolitan areas. Consequently it becomes necessary in an analysis of a voluntary sport organization to consider this centralization of power, and to determine why it exists.

In addition to considering the concepts that have been previously mentioned, any sociological analysis of an organization should take into account the organization's environment. As Hall explains, this concept:

> ...includes everything 'outside' of a particular organization. Climatic and geographic conditions, other organizations, the state of the economy and the stage of development of the nation - these are but a few of the environmental factors that all organizations must face and contend with(1977:22).

Since earlier in this chapter I argued for work on voluntary organizations that situates its results in the broader social and cultural context in which the organization exists, it would seem appropriate that this study consider the environment of the voluntary sport organization. The environment in which an organization exists has always been an important consideration for researchers who base their work on organizational theory. Weber in his classic work The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, suggested that environmental conditions were just as important prior to the Protestant Reformation as they are today. In recent years investigators have begun to give the organizational environment increased attention when trying to understand what goes on in and around organizations. Hall(1977:303) suggested that environmental conditions may be divided into two categories. The first he termed "general conditions". These were considered to be relevant concerns for all organizations. The second set of conditions Hall termed "specific environmental influences on the organization".

The term, "general conditions", subsumes such areas as technological, legal, political, economic, demographic, ecological, and cultural. All of these have potential implications for voluntary sport groups and consequently could merit consideration in any organizational analysis of these groups. For example, all voluntary sport groups may be affected by the current economic conditions: some may face the problem by raising fees, others by cutting programs. While both courses of action are obviously undesirable because they may restrict participation in sport, the former has ramifications for the continued sporting involvement of certain socioeconomic groups. In regard to the political conditions, a change in these may result in changes in the structure and programs of voluntary sport organizations. For instance, we have often seen that political pressure for Canada to do well in the international sports arena has led to the promulgation of federal government reports, e.g. The Fitness and Amateur Sport Act and The Task Force Report on Sport. These documents in turn have led to programs that have greatly influenced the future directions taken by our national sport organizations. In terms of ecological conditions the changes that affect rivers, lakes, forest, trails, and the like have obvious impact on sports such as canoeing and orienteering that depend on these areas for their existence. Also sport organizations may in turn have effects on the ecological conditions of the environment in which they exist. A current example of this is provided by the ongoing debate between the Calgary Olympic Development Association and various environmental groups over the location of the 1988 Olympic ski events. It may be seen then from these few brief examples that the potential impact that these "general conditions" have on voluntary sport organizations can be great. As a result of this it is regrettable that research into this aspect of these organizations has been neglected.

The specific environmental influences that affect an organization are those "such as other organizations with which it interacts or particular individuals who are crucial to it" (Hall, 1977:303). The organizational and individual interactions which occur with the focal organization comprise what is known as the organization set. The complexity of this organization set will vary depending on the focal organization. For voluntary sport groups, other organizations that may comprise the organization set may include the different levels of government, various educational institutions, national and local sport groups (if the focal group was a provincial sport governing body) the Canadian Olympic Association, The Coaching Association of Canada, and Sport Canada. All of these organizations have relationships with the focal organization, and it is these relationships that may be used to analyze the organization set. Interorganizational relationships may occur for several reasons. An organization may enter into an exchange relationship with another organization because each can gain something by the exchange. The relationship between a provincial department concerned with sport and a provincial sport governing body may be seen as this type of relationship. The provincial government allocates funds to the sport governing body and in exchange the sport governing bodies make available opportunities for participation in its particular sport for the citizens of the province.

Another reason that one organization may enter into a relationship with another organization is that it is "legally" required. For example, many local sport groups, if they wish to compete in provincial or national competition, must register their athletes with that body.

The type of relationships that one organization enters into with another may also provide a means of analyzing the organization set. While most relationships may be based on the cooperation which will enable groups to attain their goals, it is also possible to have interorganizational relationships based on conflict. Both conflict and coordination can benefit the organization and both may exist in the same relationship. As well as examining the coordination and/or conflict in an organization set, other aspects of the existing relationship such as the formalization of contact and the frequency of contact may also be used in the analysis.

Although there is a dearth of information on organizational environments, their importance for an organization is obvious. Consequently in an organizational analysis of the voluntary sport organization it is important to consider the environmental influences that affect the organization.

F. Statement of the Problem

As I have outlined in the introduction to this dissertation, voluntary sport organizations play an important role in the Canadian sports scene. Despite their importance, few researchers have studied these voluntary sport organizations. Those who have, have tended to focus on the biographic and demographic characteristics of the individual members. Little work has been undertaken that has attempted to study the voluntary sport organization of which these people are members. As a result of this dearth of research the main problem with which this dissertation is concerned is to undertake an organizational case analysis of a specific voluntary sport organization. Since few investigators (if any) succeed in describing all relevant aspects of an organization, specific problem areas as outlined in the previous section will be the focus of this particular analysis. The sub-problems with which this dissertation will be concerned are as follows.

1. To investigate if and why the bureaucratization of the selected volunteer sport organization is occurring.
2. If bureaucratization is taking place, to investigate what manifestations of this bureaucratization are apparent in the volunteer sport organization.
3. To investigate what possible consequences may occur as a result of this bureaucratization.
4. To investigate if and why class and gender inequalities exist in the volunteer sport organization.

5. To investigate how those individuals and/or organizational sub-units which hold power within the voluntary sport organization gain their status.
6. To investigate if and why power in the voluntary sport organization is centralized in certain geographic areas.
7. To investigate the relationship of the volunteer sport organization to its environment and to determine what influence this environment has on the volunteer sport organization.

G. Rationale for the Study

It has previously been suggested that there is a paucity of research which deals with voluntary sport organizations. This is a regrettable omission from the sociology of sport literature in light of the important role these organizations play in the delivery of sport to the people of Canada. Voluntary sport organizations are evident in every corner of our vast country and their roles range from facilitating the learning of basic skills by "pee wee" hockey players to helping train the Olympic medalist. Research that has been undertaken in this area has mainly been concerned with studying the characteristics of individual volunteers. Very few investigators have attempted to understand the organizations of which these volunteers are a part.

In addition the work that has been completed has for the most part been little more than a collection of isolated facts. Few attempts have been made to situate findings in terms of the structural arrangements of the social world. Also little of the work on voluntary organizations has utilized appropriate theoretical constructs in order to explain its findings.

It is the purpose of this study to answer some of the questions pertaining to voluntary sport organizations. The study will attempt to relate its findings to the broader social milieu in which the organization exists and it will also attempt to provide theoretical explanations for its findings. By the nature of "the state of the art" in research into voluntary sport groups, the approach to this research is an exploratory one. The phenomena which have been chosen for the research are ones which are considered central to the study of voluntary sport organizations. As a result of the number chosen, the depth to which the research will probe any one phenomenon will present a limitation to the study. This should not be taken to mean that there will not be considerable investigation into each phenomenon. Rather it should be taken to mean that as well as answering a number of questions this research, as all good research should, will lead to other questions to be answered. In this way the study will not be definitive; rather, it will help the building of knowledge about voluntary sport organizations by providing the answers to some questions that are key for the future development of this area. In short I see this study as the beginning, not the end, of an academic journey.

Chapter II

Review of Literature

A. Introduction

The research problem with which this study will be concerned is an organizational analysis of a selected voluntary sport organization. As noted in Chapter I "few investigators (if any) succeed in describing all relevant aspects of an organization". Consequently specific sub-problems will be the primary focus of this particular analysis. To aid in researching these specific sub-problems, a review of literature related to the sub-problem topic areas is presented. The literature which deals with voluntary sport organizations is scarce and to obtain a sharper picture of these organizations the review will include, where relevant, material on other types of voluntary organizations as well as material pertaining to organizational theory.

It was felt that the information generated through the review of literature would be relevant to this study for several reasons. First, it would provide the contextual background from which interview themes and questions could be developed. Secondly, it would highlight the fact that research of the nature of this dissertation has not previously been undertaken. Finally it would provide material which would be useful in the analysis of the data which will be generated. A review of literature is thus presented on the sub-problem areas with which this dissertation is concerned.

B. Bureaucracy

The Origins and Characteristics of Bureaucracy

Although the concept of bureaucracy had not been labelled as such at the time, its roots in the western world may be traced back to the early Middle Ages when royal households employed retainers who were "charged with organizing and superintending supplies, finances, clothing, horses, weapons, written communications and records,etc." (Bendix,1968:208). The term bureaucracy is derived from the French word "bureau" which means desk or office. The actual term bureaucracy came into vogue during the French Revolution when it was linked with the suffix signifying rule of government(Bendix,1968:207). Since that time the word has taken on a pejorative meaning and has come to signify rigid adherence to rules, excessive government involvement, impersonality, time wasting and "red tape". Robert Merton discusses a number of these problems in his article "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality"(1957).

In sociology and organizational theory the word has, however, a more technical meaning. In large part, this has been due to the writings on bureaucracy of the 19th Century German sociologist Max Weber. Weber's work has provided us with a variety of research studies on the causes and consequences of bureaucracy in such institutions as industrial corporations, political, religious, educational and military organizations. It is with Weber's concept of the term bureaucracy that this dissertation will primarily be concerned.

Weber saw bureaucracy as an "ideal type", "ideal" meaning "not perfect but pure" (Mintzberg,1979:84). Blau and Meyer(1971:23-24), in discussing ideal types, noted that "the methodological concept does not represent an average of all existing bureaucracies (or other social structures), but a pure type, derived by abstracting the most characteristic bureaucratic aspects of all known organizations". As such, the pure form of bureaucracy can never be realized. Perrow noted several reasons for this:

> ...it tries to do what must be (hopefully) forever impossible -- to eliminate all unwanted extraorganizational influences upon the behavior of members. Ideally members should act only in the organization's interests. The problem is that even if the interest of the organization is unambiguous, men [1] do not exist just for organizations. They track all kinds of mud from the rest of their lives with them into the organization, and they have all kinds of interests that are independent of the organization.
>
> The ideal form also falls short of realization when rapid changes in some of the organizational tasks are required. *Bureaucracies are set up to deal with stable, routine tasks, that is the basis of organizational efficiency*. Without stable tasks there cannot be a stable division of labour, a prescribed acquisition of skills and experience, formal planning and coordination and so on. But when changes come along, organizations must alter their

---

[1] In this dissertation quotations are presented in their original format. Throughout the text every attempt will be made to use gender neutral terms, unless the term is used to specifically note a characteristic attributable to one gender and not the other.

> programs; when such changes are frequent and rapid, the form of organization becomes so temporary that the efficiencies of bureaucracy cannot be realized. (The price of the output then goes up.)...Finally, bureaucracy in its ideal form falls short of its expectations because men are only indifferently intelligent, prescient, all knowing and energetic. All organizations must be designed for the "average" person one is likely to find in each position, not the superman(Italics in original.) (1979:4-5).

Although Weber's "ideal type" bureaucracy cannot be achieved this does not preempt its use as a meaningful sociological concept. It does, however, mean that in any analysis utilizing the concept we must remember we will not encounter the ideal typical state but merely approximations of the characteristics of this state. In Weber's analysis the concept of bureaucracy comes about as a result of the increasing rationalization of modern society. Rationalization, as seen by Weber, is that process by which the magic and mystery of human life disappears and is replaced by scientific inquiry and objectivity. As Weber(1946:51) suggested "the extent and direction of 'rationalization' is ... measured negatively in terms of the degree to which the magical elements of thought are displaced, or positively by the extent to which ideas gain in systematic coherence and naturalistic consistency". Weber saw rationalization as one of the most important processes in the social world.

The rationalization process, when it occurs in organizations and is backed up with legal sanctions, gives rise to Weber's most celebrated form of bureaucracy, the legal-rational type. Researchers who have studied bureaucracy have usually approached it from one of two directions. There are those who have approached bureaucracy as a total phenomenon and those who have approached the concept by separating it into its component parts. When we consider the research work of the latter we find that authors have extracted varying numbers of characteristics from Weber's original *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Economy and Society). One of the better known and most parsimonious explanations of those characteristics that comprise a legal-rational bureaucracy is attributed to Martin Albrow and is presented in his book Bureaucracy. The following are the defining characteristics of bureaucracy which he presents:

> 1. The staff members are personally free, observing only the impersonal duties of their offices.
> 2. There is a clear hierarchy of offices.
> 3. The functions of the offices are clearly specified.
> 4. Officials are appointed on the basis of a contract.
> 5. They are selected on the basis of a professional qualification ideally substantiated by a diploma gained through examination.
> 6. They have a money salary and usually pension rights. The salary is graded according to position in the hierarchy. The official can always leave the post, and under certain circumstances it may also be terminated.
> 7. The official's post is his [her] sole or major occupation.
> 8. There is a career structure and promotion is possible either by seniority or merit and according to the judgement of superiors.
> 9. The official may appropriate neither the post nor the resources which go with it.
> 10. He [she] is subject to a unified control and disciplinary system.(1970:44)

Albrow(1970:45) suggests that as an organization experiences growth of the ten characteristics which are listed above it becomes more bureaucratized. Weber felt that this was an inevitable process with the increasing rationalization of the social world.

An organization which is highly bureaucratized would exhibit a number of the criteria outlined to a high degree. A non-bureaucratized organization would exhibit these to a considerably lesser extent. The advantage of treating the phenomena of bureaucracy as a composite of a number of characteristics is that it allows the researcher a more specific focus. Research by Francis and Stone (1956), Gouldner (1954), Hall (1963), and Udy (1959) are all examples of the utility of this method.

In this study one of the sub-problem areas concerns the characteristics of Weber's ideal type bureaucracy which are manifest in a voluntary sport organization. The approach taken will be as described above, one which treats bureaucracy as a composite of a number of characteristics. The characteristics that will be used are those presented by Albrow. Each will be examined to determine if it is manifest in the voluntary sport organization and to what extent.

The Bureaucratization of the Voluntary Sport Organization

In addition to investigating what characteristics of Weber's concept of bureaucracy are present in the voluntary sport organization and indicating how they are manifest in this organization, one of the sub-problems of this study is to investigate why the bureaucratization of this volunteer sport organization has occurred (if, indeed, it has). Downs suggested that bureaus may be formed in four different ways:

> First a bureau can be formed by what Max Weber called the routinization of charisma. A group of men brought together by their personal devotion to a charismatic leader may transform itself into a bureaucratic structure in order to perpetuate his ideas. Second a bureau may be deliberately created almost out of nothing by one or more groups in society in order to carry out a specific function for which they perceive a need....Third a new bureau can split off from an existing bureau....Fourth a bureau may be created through "entrepreneurship" if a group of men promoting a particular policy (such as communism) gains enough support to establish and operate a large nonmarket organization devoted to that policy(1967:5).

It is the first of these methods, the routinization of charisma, that has the greatest relevance for explaining the bureaucratization of voluntary sport organizations. Charisma is one of Weber's key sociological concepts. It refers to:

> a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader (Weber,1968:48).

The validation of charisma is dependent on its being recognized as legitimate by those who are subject to its authority. Also under Weber's conception of charismatic authority:

> there are no established administrative organs. In their place are agents who have been provided with charismatic authority by their chief or who possess charisma of their own. There is no system of formal rules (Weber,1968:51).

The characteristics which Weber has attributed to an organization founded on charismatic authority are very similar to those which Chapin and Tsouderos have attributed to the initial growth patterns of voluntary organizations. Chapin and Tsouderos proposed four stages of development for voluntary organizations. The first of these is described in the following terms:

> There is at first an *informal* stage where the membership group has all the primary group characteristics. Other type-parts are not yet explicitly recognized. There is a leader or leaders who enjoy higher social prestige than their average fellow members, and their authority is personal-discretionary and only limited by the response of the membership to their decisions. The scope of authority is not delimited by rules and fluctuates greatly with the personality of the leader. Office staff duties are discharged by the leaders and other members who volunteer to help. The association does not yet have election machinery to select a leader(Italics in original.)(1955:344).

As we can see there are certain similarities between the characteristics Weber has attributed to the foundation of an organization on charismatic authority and what Chapin and Tsouderos saw as the initial stages of the development of a voluntary organization. Both are initiated by a leader or leaders who possess a certain quality. Weber termed this charisma. Chapin and Tsouderos termed it social prestige. In both cases the authority is granted to the leader or leaders by the extent to which followers or the membership acknowledge this quality. Similarly, the administrative structure of the two situations is limited to the extent that the leader or leaders discharge duties to others in the organization. There are no officials as such and neither situation has a system of formal rules.

The quality which Weber refered to as charisma is, in its extreme form, an unstable quality. Weber noted:

> Indeed in its pure form charismatic authority may be said to exist only in the process of originating. It cannot remain stable, but becomes either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both(Weber,1968:54).

The traditionalization or rationalization which occurs to charismatic authority usually does so with the disappearance of the charismatic leader and the problems of replacing him/her. The replacement of their leader is important to the members of the organization if they wish to ensure its succession and thus gain the ideal and material interests that accrue to them as members or followers. It is also important to the members that "if they wish to enjoy a secure social position in place of the kind of discipleship which is cut off from ordinary worldly connexions"(Weber,1968:54) that they put their own status on a more stable base than it was under the original charismatic leader. The replacement process may take one of several forms which Weber outlined in detail in his book The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations. The replacement process constitutes the first phase of the routinization of the charismatic authority. Along with this routinization through the selection of a new leader goes the interest in routinization on the part of the administrative staff. Weber noted that:

> ...it is only in the initial stages and so long as the charismatic leader acts in a way which is

> completely outside everyday social organization, that it is possible for his followers to live communistically in a community of faith and enthusiasm, on gifts "booty" or sporadic acquisition. Only the members of the small group of enthusiastic disciples and followers are prepared to devote their lives purely idealistically to their call. The great majority of disciples and followers will in the long run "make their living" out of their "calling" in a material sense as well. Indeed this must be the case if the movement is not to disintegrate.
>
> Hence the routinization of charisma also takes the form of the appropriation of powers of control and of economic advantages by the follower or disciples and of the regulation of the recruitment of these groups(1947:367).

The administrative staff then desire, for their stability, to create and occupy positions for which there are economic rewards given. These positions may take the form of benefices, offices or fiefs. If the positions created are classified as offices the resulting organization may be one of patrimonialism or bureaucracy. The former is the more likely if the charismatic leader's successor is selected in a traditional manner, while the latter is more likely if the successor is selected by legal means.

The desire on the part of the followers or disciples to move from the idealistic to the more materialistic realm may be seen to parallel the growth of the voluntary organization. As the organization grows, the followers or disciples of the original leader develop more materialist desires. Although few (if any) will "make their living" from their association with the organization some may gain both materially and idealistically through the routinization process.

As routinization increases and charismatic authority is transformed into a bureaucracy of the legal-rational order an organization takes on a more structured and complex role. Chapin described this process in these terms:

> A group of citizens meet informally to consider some problem or need. After a few conferences, a chairman is selected. As the problem under discussion is broken down into its elements, various committees are appointed: executive, ways and means, publicity, program, survey, etc. Soon the business of calling conferences and notifying interested persons becomes too arduous for volunteer private citizens and the half-time service of an executive secretary is provided. He soon finds it necessary to have a clerk-stenographer. She[sic] needs a typewriter, chair, desk and filing cabinets. Supplies of stationery, postage, telephone and other items of equipment are purchased. As the work of the new organization, branch, section (or whatever the name of the new unit may be) grows in volume, it is systematized by establishing membership requirements and dues. A constitution and by-laws are adopted at some stage of its development. The organization may be incorporated if it is an independent entity and not a department of some larger whole. A full line of officers may be chosen: Chairman of the Board, President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, etc. As the funds accumulate and a bank account is established, the Treasurer is bonded and an annual audit is required(1951:835).

Chapin and Tsouderos also suggested a similar process occurs in the development of a voluntary organization.

> The codification of the structure begins. Person and position are differentiated. Executive powers are defined and a hierarchy of executive officers rather than a constellation of leaders, run the affairs of the association. As a corollary, the differentiation invented to facilitate the election of the executives, that is, the power of an annual membership meeting are defined....Standing committees are organized which discharge special functions under authority delegated to them by the executive board. An executive committee discharges the functions of the executive board between sessions of the latter. This points to the fact that the volume of executive and staff work is on the increase. The increase in the volume of activity

> would appear to be linked to an expansion of the membership group. Finally, at this stage the formulation of a separate staff group begins. In a majority of cases, it has beginnings in one paid staff employee working with the executive officers...(1955:308).

As has been suggested the development of a legal-rational bureaucracy by the routinization of charisma can be parallelled to the growth of a voluntary organization. Both are initiated by a leader with some type of special quality. As both develop they require more stability and as a result of this desire for stability certain mechanisms are structured in the organization. The nature of these particular mechanisms is such that the organization takes on the role of a legal-rational bureaucracy.

This study will attempt to discover if the concept of charismatic authority can be used to explain the founding of a voluntary sport organization. Also it will examine the ensuing growth and bureaucratic development of the organization. To help in this task the study will to a large extent utilize the work on bureaucracy of Anthony Downs. Downs' work is one of the most comprehensive on this subject. It examines in detail the initial development and life cycle of bureaus. It also looks at a number of bureaucracies internal characteristics, for example, communication, the nature of control, change, official behaviour and so on. In addition, Downs enriches his text by generating a number of hypotheses regarding the development and dynamics of bureaucracies, several of these hypotheses will be used as part of the framework for this dissertation. The decision to use Downs' work as the main method of explanation in this study should not be taken to indicate that Weber's work on bureaucracy is foresaken. Downs, as all writers on bureaucracy do, builds on the work of Weber. The main reason for chosing Downs over Weber is that his work is more recent, more comprehensive and more easily comprehensible.

The Consequences of the Bureaucratization of the Voluntary Sport Organization

A third aspect of this dissertation that deals with bureaucratization relates to the sub-problem of what are the consequences of bureaucratization on voluntary sport organizations. It is in this area and the area of bureaucratization in professional sport that those researchers who describe themselves as sport sociologists have completed the most work(cf. Page, 1973; Ingham, 1975, 1978; Schlagenhauf and Timm, 1976; Frey, 1978; and Kidd, 1980). As a result of this fact, this particular part of the review of literature will focus mainly on these writings. As pointed out earlier these writers have generally considered bureaucratization to have negative effects on sport organizations. Frey, in discussing amateur sport in the U.S.A., suggested that a state of entropy existed. The cause of this malaise he suggested stems from the increasing bureaucratization of amateur sport. This bureaucratization is manifest in the fact that:

> American amateur sport has evolved to form an expansive interlocking network of organizations and associations which depend on athletics for their livelihood or survival. As a result, an excessive portion of a declining athletic resource base goes to maintaining the network even if it means a compromise of the original participatory goals(Frey,1978:361).

Further to this Frey suggested that an increasing emphasis on productive efficiency and winning has reduced local control of sport and also reduced the public legitimacy of amateur sport. He notes(1978:362) that "voluntary, nonscholastic sports have chosen to abandon the emphases on character development, participation and education in favour of productive efficiency". In a similar vein to this Schlagenhauf and Timm(1976:21) examining German sport clubs found that there had been a move away "from ideological values to more objectivized demands on the part of the membership, to professionalization and purposeful rationality in the organization".

Ingham(1975:353) proposed that bureaucracy in sport has emerged for many of the same reasons that is has emerged in other forms of social life. Reasons suggested by Ingham are the development of a money economy, the increased size of the administrative units to be controlled (although Ingham does not acknowledge it is possible for small organizations to become bureaucratic) (cf. Hall,1963), occupational specialization and the increasing emphasis on the profit principle. Ingham's emphasis is primarily on professional sport and he suggests that the increasing rationalization of sport "has been greatly facilitated by commercialization and professionalization". Citing Blau(1956:32) he suggests that bureaucracy "creates social conditions which constrain each member of the organization (and the organization per se) to act in a way that, whether they appear rational or otherwise from his individual standpoint further the rational pursuit of organizational objectives."

Ingham(1975:35) cited examples from the world of professional baseball and professional football to show that the bureaucratic structure of both of these is of the patrimonial as opposed to legalistic type, i.e., it is set up to serve "the privileged minority which retains it". To counteract these patrimonial type bureaucracies which primarily serve the owners of professional teams, players set up their own bureaucracies in the form of players associations. "Since many of these player challenges are of a legal nature, the growth of such associations may facilitate the transformation of patrimonial bureaucracy into legalistic bureaucracy"(Ingham,1975:355).

It may be suggested that a similar system exists in amateur sport in Canada. Government intervention in sport is through what may be called patrimonial bureaucracies. In order to deal with these type of structures, sport organizations themselves are required to take on a more legal-rational bureaucratic nature as this enables them to counter the patrimonial interest of government.

Kidd has alluded to this state intervention in sport and suggested that such intervention poses a threat to the development of genuinely democratic sport. He believes the state by creating a technocratic bureaucracy "is systematically eliminating subjectivity from sport" (1980:244). Essentially this may be taken to mean that such attributes as the aesthetic value of sport are being subjugated to the demands of winning. He also suggested sport is overly centralized and that financial and structural barriers exist to participation. To counteract these practices what is suggested is a constant reiteration of the demands for equal opportunity in sport and the establishment of coalitions with groups such as trade unions and housing cooperatives which are struggling for similar goals.

Up until now we have only considered the works of those researchers who have seen predominantly negative connotations to the bureaucratization of sport. Two authors who suggested both advantages and disadvantages to such a process are Page (1973) and Nixon(1974). Page argued that the bureaucratic transition in sport may be seen in the move from "player controlled games" to the "management controlled big time". He wrote (1973:33) that bureaucratization can "decrease the degree of autonomy for an athlete himself, whose one time position as a more or less skilled independent participant has been largely replaced by the status of skilled athletic worker under the strict discipline of coaches, managers, and in the case of pro sport the "front office". On the other hand, Page(1973:34) also noted that "the routines and rigidities of bureaucracy do not eliminate, but frequently encourage, individual inventiveness and spontaneity in athletic performance".

Nixon suggested that both functional and dysfunctional consequences can be attributed to bureaucratization:

> On the one hand, athletic programs and sport franchises often improve their competitive and financial records by shrewd, calculated coaching changes, recruiting practices, draft choices, and trades. Extensive scouting systems, computers, movies, and sophisticated play books frequently aid coaches and athletes to prepare for future opponents. And the rigid enforcement of discipline often produces the kind of physical conditioning that makes the difference at the end of close games(1974:109).

He also stated that in a society that is highly industrialized and focuses on the profit principle it is not surprising to see sport follow a similar pattern of bureaucratization. This rationale is supported by Schon's suggestion that societies have what he terms core institutions. These institutions develop core values or "ideas in good currency" such as the one that feels bureaucracy is a desirable state and these spillover into other areas of social life such as sport.

As has been shown, researchers in the sociology of sport have commented on the effects of bureaucratization in both amateur and professional sport. For the most part these commentaries have emphasized the negative aspects of bureaucratization -- increased impersonality, excessive commercialization, emphasis on organization aims at the expense of individual freedoms and loss of the subjective values of sport. A few authors have, however, seen bureaucratization as benefitting sport through such areas as standardization and increased financial support. It is one of the objectives of this study to determine what have been the consequences of bureaucratization in a voluntary sport organization.

C. Gender and Class Inequality

It is one of the central generalizations in the sociological study of voluntary organizations that they serve a mediating function in the social structure. Voluntary organizations are seen to mediate between the state and the private individual (Allcock, 1968). Several researchers (cf. Rose, 1954; Babchuk and Edwards, 1965; and Schindler-Rainman and Lippitt, 1975) have suggested that this mediating role helps to bring about democracy, distribute power, reduce alienation, and support "a whole host of other processes indispensable for an egalitarian society"(McPherson, 1981:705). Despite these and other similar claims, empirical evidence suggests that voluntary organizations, like other spheres of social life, can be bastions of inequality. Two specific areas of social inequality with which this dissertation is concerned are those of gender and of class.

There are several reasons why these two variables were singled out as opposed to the others that could have been selected, (e.g. age and race). First, studies in the sociology of sport, which have addressed these topics, have increased dramatically during the last decade. In terms of gender, there has been a significant increase in the involvement of Canadian girls and women in all aspects of sport. However, we still find a proportionately higher participation rate by men. While some differences in actual participation in a sport may be due to size and strength most are attributable to cultural factors. Certainly in the administration of amateur sport physiological factors are not relevant and it becomes imperative to examine other factors, such as structure, if we are to explain the inequalities that currently exist.

As is the case with gender, studies in the sociology of sport which have a class analysis as their base have increased over the period of the last decade. In part this is, no doubt, due to a resurgence of interest in the writing of Karl Marx and the use of Marxism as an analytical tool. This Marxist influence has been particularly prevalent in the writings of several young Canadian scholars (e.g. Beamish, Gruneau, and Helms). These writers have seen the class relations of Canadian society as being a form of domination that can be utilized to explain some of the problems encountered in studying Canadian sport.

The second reason for the choice of class and gender as factors to examine in this study is that in the work undertaken on voluntary organizations these two variables have been ones which particularly stand out. That is, great inequalities have been found in the number of women and individuals from the lower classes who are involved in the administration of amateur sport. Since this is the case it is imperative that we look at why this is occurring, if for no other reason than the fact that it is limiting this country's athletic potential.

My final reason for selecting both class and gender as variables for study is probably the least theoretically sound but certainly the most practical: the areas interest me. I would like to lay claim to the fact that my work is informed by both feminist and Marxist scholarship although I make no claim to be highly politically involved in either of these two causes. I am, however, concerned about Canadian sport and equality of opportunity. For this reason a study of why class and gender inequalities exist in voluntary organizations will help satisfy a personal concern.

The majority of the studies that have been conducted on voluntary organizations have attempted to determine what type of people participate in these organizations. Several studies have attempted to assess the differences in male and female participation. Researchers such as Dotson (1951), Scott (1957), Babchuk and Booth (1969), Bratton (1970), Slack (1979), Hollands and Gruneau (1979) and Theberge

(1980) all found that higher rates of participation are shown by men.

Komarovsky (1946), Slater (1960), and Booth (1972) all pointed out that gender differences in participation are less pronounced at the upper socioeconomic levels, thus suggesting that lower class women are less likely to be involved in voluntary organizations. Slater suggested that, in part, these findings may be due to the fact that women are influenced by patterns of expectation about their behavior and that women from the lower socioeconomic groups are more likely to conform to the traditional norms of a wife, i.e., staying home to look after the house. Booth(1972) pointed out that although men belonged to more organizations than women, at the upper socioeconomic levels, women spent more time on organization activities than did men. Babchuk, Marsey and Gordon (1960) found that in instrumental organizations, i.e., those that "serve as social influence organizations designed to maintain or create some normative condition or change"(Gordon and Babchuk, 1959:25), men held a significantly greater number of board memberships than did women. In expressive organizations, i.e., those that "are formed to express or satisfy the interests of their members"(Rose,1954:52), they found a greater percentage of women although men still predominated. Booth(1972) similarly found that men held more leadership positions in instrumental organizations. However, in expressive groups women held a greater number of memberships and a greater number of the leadership positions. McPherson and Smith-Lovin(1982:884) have suggested that women join organizations that are orientated toward domestic affairs while men join organizations that have instrumental or economic goals. In general this is probably true, but the situation is changing and more women are becoming involved in voluntary organizations that have concerns with things other than domestic issues. Evidence for this may be found in the relatively recent formation of such groups as the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, The Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport, and The Edmonton Women's Network.

While most of these previously mentioned studies have been carried out in the United States, Curtis(1971) did indicate that there was similarity between Canada and the United States in the extent of organization memberships. In a cross national study he found that males participated more in voluntary organizations in Canada, the United States, Germany, Mexico, Italy and Great Britain. Female participation in Canada and the United States was, nevertheless, considerably higher than in the other four countries.

The studies that have considered gender differences in voluntary sport organizations have all found greater levels of participation among males than females. Bratton(1970) in his study of volleyball and swimming executives received an

85% return rate and found that 74% of respondents in volleyball and 78% in swimming were male. He noted little difference in those figures for voluntary organizations at the national, provincial or local levels. Slack(1979) found twice as many male volunteer sport administrators than females in Alberta. Even when the greater number of opportunities for male involvement were controlled for, the percentage of males was still significantly greater than that of females. Hollands and Gruneau(1979) in a study of national level sport administrators from 1955 to 1975 found that there was a disproportionate representation of men in all three sample years: 1955, 1965, and 1975. There was a slight increase in the percentage of women from 1955, 8.6% to 1975, 16.5%. The authors noted, however, that this increase should be regarded with caution as in the 1975 sample, a third of the female representation was produced by a particularly high response rate from one women's sport organization. Theberge(1980) found that in Ontario women comprise only 19.5% of the executive of all sport organizations that have both male and female participants.

It may be seen, then, that there have been a number of studies that have examined the biographic and demographic characteristics of the membership of voluntary sport organizations. These studies have generally concluded that in terms of the gender of the membership there exists a number of inequalities. Little information has been presented on why these inequalities exist in voluntary organizations. However, if we consider the literature that has been produced on gender inequality in organizations of a profit oriented nature we find that there is considerable material that may be relevant to voluntary organizations.

Although sex differences in organizations "have been recorded in the research literature since systematic research in organizations began" (Acker and Van Houten, 1974) work in this area has traditionally focused on the role of males. It was males who held the top positions in organizations and males who controlled the power. Consequently, it was males who were the primary focus of research. It was also males who were doing the research! The traditional role of a woman was that which centered on being a homemaker, wife and mother, and any involvement in paid employment was considered secondary to these tasks. As well, women who did manage to gain a paid position in an organization were seen as secondary workers in the organization and consequently they were assigned what were considered lower level tasks, e.g. secretarial work. As a result of these types of attitudes any positions that women did fill in organizations were at the lower end of the hierarchy. In recent years this trend has changed and some women now occupy positions from which they were previously excluded, but we still see few women in the upper level management positions (cf. Kanter, 1977). Even in organizations in which women have traditionally been accepted, e.g. social services and educational institutions, men still occupy a large number of key administrative jobs. Women who do obtain high prestige positions may find that the economic rewards they receive are less than those for their male counterparts(cf. Williams _et al._, 1974; and Perrucci, 1970).

In early studies on sex differentiation in organizations, inequalities were generally explained by reference to differences in biological characteristics and socialization patterns. Sherif noted that psychologists have suggested that:

> girl babies were more dependent, less active, more attentive to social stimulation, less aggressive and less persistent in trying to get around barriers than little boy babies(1975:12).

In reaction to these accusations she countered that:

> There is no evidence that little girls are more "socially oriented" than boys or that girls are more suggestible than boys. There is no clear evidence that girls lack motivation to achieve or that boys are more persistent than girls. It is not true that girls are better at rote learning and repetitive tasks, nor that boys are better at high level tasks that require them to inhibit things they have learned before or to analyze a problem into its component parts(1975:12).

In addition to suggestions that women do not gain upper level management postions due to biological inadequacies some researchers have suggested that the socialization of women is such that they do not possess the qualities seen as necessary to succeed in these types of jobs. For example, Schein(1975:341-342) in a study of management characteristics found "a large and significant resemblance" between the qualities attributed to managers and those attributed to males $(r' = .54, p < .01)$. Desirable managerial qualities such as leadership ability, competitiveness, self confidence, aggressiveness and ambition were perceived as characteristics "more commonly ascribed to men than to women".

As well as not giving women credit for the abilities to do certain tasks, men as a result of the stereotyped image they hold of women may exhibit a lack of trust in them. This lack of trust stems basically from women's reproductive and maternal roles. Kanter described some of the problems that occurred at "Indsco" company -- the research site for her book Men and Women of the Corporation.

> The question of marriage is experienced by some women in professional, managerial, or sales ladders at Indsco as full of contradictory injunctions. Sometimes they got the message that being single was an advantage, five women reported, sometimes that it was just the opposite. Two single women, one of them forty, in quite different functions, were told by their managers that they could not be given important jobs because they were likely to get married and leave. One male manager said to a female subordinate that he would wait about five years before promoting a competent woman to see if she "falls into marriage". On the other hand, they were also told in other circumstances that married women cannot be given important jobs because of their family responsibilities: their children, if they are working mothers, their unborn children and the danger they will leave with pregnancy, if currently childless. One woman asked her manager for a promotion to which he replied "You're probably going to get pregnant." So she pointed out to him that he told her that eight years ago and she hadn't. A divorced woman similarly discussed promotion with her manager and was asked "How long do you want the job? Do you think you'll get married again?". One working mother who had heard that "married women are absent more" had to prove that she had taken only one day off in eleven years at Indsco.
>
> A male manager in the distribution function who supervised many women confirmed the woman's reports.

> He said that he never even considered asking a married woman to do anything that involved travel even if this was in the interests of her career development, and therefore he could not see how he could recommend a woman for promotion into management(1977:67).

The types of attitudes expressed in the preceding quotation along with other stereotypical images of women lead to the perpetuation of existing male dominance in organizations. This domination is overtly manifest in the fact that women may be denied opportunity to progress to upper level positions, they are unable to develop power and at the managerial levels they are often likely to be the only female employee.

As previously noted the fact that women are often denied the opportunity to move up in an organization is a result of the sterotyping of women's abilities. Women are frequently seen as non-aggressive, less motivated, poor leaders, non-objective and so on. As a result the sex typing of occupations occurs. Certain occupations, particularly those in higher levels of management, are labelled male jobs and consequently it is difficult for women to gain access to them. Epstein stated that:

> Those occupations defined as male provide a social context uncomfortable for women. Those who seek entry to them are regarded as deviants and are subjected to social sanctions. As a result few women attempt to enter such fields and those who do are often blocked from the opportunity structure(1970:967).

In addition women are assigned to tasks that may be classified as routine, non-challenging, requiring little or no decision-making and not overly demanding. Men, on the other hand, are given jobs that require thought, aggressiveness, interpersonal skills and good judgement. An example of this occurring in voluntary sport organizations is provided by Slack(1979:77) who found, in his study of volunteer sport administrators, that the only position in which there were more females than males was the traditionally female position of secretary.

As a result of these types of task assignments, women fail to gain the necessary on-the-job experience. Consequently, when they come to apply for promotions, even though in all other facets they may be as equally qualified as men, they do not have the necessary experience.

Kanter(1977:139) suggests that in order to cope with this denial of opportunity women "respond with a number of forms of disengagement, substitute social recognition and conservative resistance". Disengagement occurs when people no longer care about their involvement in the organization or are only interested in the monetary aspect of their job. It may take the form of depressed aspirations, low commitment to the organization or withdrawal from organizational responsibility. Substitute social recognition is a phenomenon in which people who are low in opportunity and cannot achieve recognition through their work turn their efforts to gaining this recognition from other sources. For example, they join forces with others in a similar position and criticize those farther up the hierarchy. They gain recognition through having the best gossip, best jokes, etc.

They turn their efforts for recognition to outside the organization or to subordinates who do not know their true status within the organization. The final coping mechanism, conservative resistance, comes about when people resist innovations and changes that may come from the higher levels of the organization. As can be seen, the result of these types of actions, for women, is that they are seen to behave in the stereotypical way expected of them. They become less motivated, less committed. They are seen as not interested and as being chronic complainers or trouble makers. As Kanter explains:

> Opportunity structures shape behaviours in such a way that they confirm their own prophecies. Those people set on high-mobility tracks tend to develop attitudes and values that impel them further along the track: work commitment, high aspirations and upward orientations. Those set on low mobility tracks tend to become indifferent, to give up and thus to prove that their initial placement was correct(1977:158).

In short, women because they are stereotyped as not possessing the types of skills necessary to fill top level jobs in the organization are placed in low opportunity positions. As a result of this placement they become disinterested and lack motivation to progress so the original stereotype is reinforced and the cycle continues.

Another limitation to female involvement in the higher levels of an organization, the structure of power, also has its roots in the stereotype image of women. For example, women because they are slotted into certain types of jobs are often unable to engage in the types of activities that confer power. Kanter suggests that activities in order to have power-giving status have to meet three criteria:

> 1) they are extraordinary, 2) they are visible and 3) they are relevant -- identified with the solution to a pressing organizational problem(1977:177).

As can be seen the type of jobs assigned to women usually do not meet even one of these criteria. Consequently they are unable to gain power within the organization and as a result have little influence on organizational dynamics.

Another way that power can be gained, one which also poses problems for women, is through the informal social network of the organization. The adage that "it is not what you know but who you know" may readily be applied to gaining access to top level management positions. Informal training for gaining a top level management position is just as important as formal training. In many organizations people are picked to assume these top level positions through sponsorship or what is known as the protege or mentor system. The system is somewhat similar to an apprenticeship system where the young protege studies with a mentor who teaches the skills of the trade. Through this system the young protege learns the correct way to do things, gets to know the important people who function in the organization's inner power structure and learns to avoid many of the pitfalls that can beset him/her on his/her way to a management position. The protege seeks out a mentor, just as mentors seek out young colleagues, with whom he/she can develop a relationship. Williams pointed out that:

> The inner circle must decide that a person is worth coaching and then he [sic] must be exposed on a day-to-day basis to the tasks and situations that develop his abilities(1975:55).

Becker and Strauss(1956:257) supported this idea stating that "until a newcomer has been accepted, he will not be taught crucial trade secrets".

The mentor or protege system poses certain problems for women who wish to advance in their career. First, women may not be able to obtain a mentor as most potential mentors are men and males may not choose to sponsor a women. Also, women may often feel that they will not be as acceptable as a male to a sponsor and consequently will not push as hard to gain sponsorship.

Through the protege/mentor system a potential manager can gain access to another very important power giving aspect of the inner sanctum of an organization-the informal social cliques. These informal social groups are often equally as, if not more, important than the formal structure in deciding the correct behavioral norms of the organization. The informal social groups exist over coffee, at the club, at the bar, on the golf course and at a variety of other sites. They determine norms of behavior, dress and conduct. They shape attitudes to superiors, subordinates and clients and they often help determine who moves up and down the organizational hierarchy. As Zacharias pointed out:

> The emphasis throughout this undiagrammed system is upon interpersonal relationships, oral communication, and the sharing of "soft" timely information(1975:63).

Women, because of the way they are perceived by many men, often experience difficulty in gaining access to the informal networks of an organization more so than gaining access to the formal networks. Epstein(1970:976) suggested that as well as exclusion by the informal group women also "practice self-exclusion and limit their professional interactions". The result of these patterns is that the social structure of the group influences the behavior of the members of the group. As Albrecht stated:

> In an organizational setting, the structural effects of informal interaction patterns impose external constraints on individual members. Because it is taken for granted that men and women do not get together for informal communication, this orientation creates structural barriers to professional women, preventing them from participating fully in the organization. In a sense, these segregated informal interaction patterns become the basis of institutionalized sexism. Because of a social climate characterized by segregated interaction networks women are denied access to the channels of communication that could aid their mobility within that organization(1975:68).

Further to this premise Albrecht(1975:68), citing Campbell and Alexander(1965), suggested an intermediate step between the structural effects of the organization and the behavior of individual members of the organization. This step, she suggested, is the influence of significant others. If a person is not a member of an informal social clique, then she/he may not gain access to important significant others. As Albrecht wrote members may be considered significant if they can act as "situational definers".

> ... a person is considered a situational definer to the extent that he can provide relevant information

> about the situation and how he should act, and also to the extent that he can provide a model of behavior. Thus the more contact one has with this information and model, the better equipped he will be to perform within the organization(1975:68).

Significant others may also fulfill a particularly important role as a "resource allocator".

> Certain members of an organization, because of their position on the power hierarchy, are in control of various resources that affect ego's mobility. For example recruitment promotions, recommendations and knowledge of the field can be considered as resources. Those members who have the ability to distribute these resources become significant to other members. The more contact a member has with these resource allocators, the better his chances of receiving these resources, which will aid his mobility(1975:68).

As has been shown, access to the informal social cliques of an organization can provide a person with contact to the people who control the resources in an organization. Since women are not usually able to gain access to these social cliques, they are not able to control resources; consequently, this leads to constraints on their chance of controlling power within the organization.

In order to cope with this inability to gain power Kanter(1977:189-195) suggests that a number of tactics may be used. For example, people who feel a limited ability to exercise power often control and closely supervise those over whom they do have a modicum of authority. They may also rely on strict adherence to organization rules as a means of gaining power. Finally they often jealously guard their own small part of the organization. In this way they are able to preserve their "expert" status in this area.

When these types of tactics are used the people employing them are often seen as bossy, rigid, over protective, fickle and so on. If the people in question are women these types of characteristics then serve to confirm the stereotypical image that originally placed them in jobs without power and also prevented them from building the alliances necessary to secure power.

A final limitation to the involvement of women in higher level management positions is what Kanter(1977:245) terms "the proportional distribution of people of different kinds", i.e., the social composition of people in similar areas of the organization. Since women are often in the minority in the managerial level of organizations, they often face special situations which put pressures on them. As Kanter(1977:210) points out these pressures result from "three perceptual tendencies: visibility, contrast and assimilation". Visibility occurs because as a minority women tend to stand out. Contrast is the result of the exaggeration of differences between the dominant group (men) and the minority (women). Finally, assimilation involves the distortion of a minority group's characteristics to fit a stereotype.

The high visibility that a small number of managerial women in an organization are subject to tends to create what Kanter(1977) terms "performance pressures". These pressures come about from the fact that women as a minority are a constant source of attention and they are often burdened with the responsibility of representing women as a whole not just themselves. In addition they may have to work harder to have their achievements noticed, a phenomenon frequently referred to as the double standard of performance. Finally, women have to beware of not making the dominant group (men) look bad as this in turn may place more pressure on them.

Contrast of the differences between men and women can lead to a "heightening of dominant culture boundaries", i.e., the majority group (males) tend to emphasize their differences from the minority group (females). This may be done through off colour jokes, stories of sporting achievements and tales of sexual prowess. This type of conversation is intended to highlight what men can do and what women cannot. Heightening of cultural boundaries may also occur through what Kanter(1977) terms "interruptions as reminders of differences". Essentially this may be taken to mean that the dominant group may preface acts or conversations with apologies or questions about their appropriateness for the minority group. An example of this may be where a group of men and one woman meet and one of the males swears and then apologizes to the woman. The outcome of this type of behaviour is to emphasize that women are seen as different from men and don't really belong in the group.

A final method that males have of dealing with a female in their group is through what Kanter(1977) terms assimilation or "role encapsulation". Here females in management positions because of their numerical scarcity may often be seen as filling the organizational roles that most women have been ascribed, e.g. a woman manager may be seen as a secretary. Alternatively females may be seen as filling other stereotypical roles such as a mother figure or a seductress.

These three tendencies, visibility, contrast, and assimilation, have the effect of reinforcing traditional female stereotypes. For example, because women are visible they usually have to work harder to have their accomplishments recognized, but when they do not perform up to expectation this is quickly highlighted because it is often what a male expects to happen. The fact that the contrast between males and females is emphasized in a situation where there are few females may result in the female withdrawing to the sidelines of the group, thus confirming the stereotypical image that women are shy and retiring. Finally the assimilation of women into traditional roles is often hard for them to fight and as Kanter(1977:236) points out it is often easier to accept the stereotyped role. Once again this has the effect of confirming the original image.

In summary, studies have shown that women are underrepresented in administrative positions in voluntary sport organizations, but few attempts have been made to explain this situation. What is suggested is that we attempt to utilize some of the work done in organizational theory to explain the inequalities found in voluntary sport organizations. One approach that may be used for this task is that taken by Kanter(1977). She essentially suggests that three structural variables, the structure of opportunity, the structure of power, and the proportional distribution of women in the organization, limit women's involvement. All these variables have their roots in the stereotypical image of women as being unfit for management. However, what these structural constraints do is serve to reinforce preexisting stereotypes and as such they place women in a cycle that is difficult to break.

As well as explaining the problems that women face in rising to the upper levels of management, structural constraints such as those previously highlighted may also be used to explain why others who possess a particular status, such as age, race or class, may not rise through the organization. Epstein(1970:966) suggested that "those persons whose status-sets do not conform to the expected and preferred configurations cause discordant impressions on members of the occupational network and the society at large."

In terms of inequalities of class and the attempts that have been made to study this phenomenon in sport and voluntary organizations, we find that a similar pattern of research emerges to that of studies on gender. Several researchers have focused on the social class origins of amateur athletes (Loy, 1969; Webb, 1969; Lüschen, 1972; and

Gruneau, 1976) and have concluded that athletes generally come from a more advantageous social position.

In studies that looked at the socioeconomic class of participants in voluntary organizations it has generally been concluded that the higher the individual's socioeconomic class the more likely it is that he/she will belong to a voluntary organization (cf. Axelrod, 1956; Scott, 1957; Hagedorn and Labovitz, 1967; Booth, Babchuk and Knox, 1968; Hyman and Wright, 1971; and Defee, Schultz and Pasework, 1974).

In studies which have been undertaken on voluntary sport organizations similar results have been found. Bratton(1970), in his study, found 62% of volunteer administrators in volleyball and 40% in swimming had completed a university degree. These figures were considerably higher than the national figure of 10% who possessed similar educational qualifications. The differences between the educational levels of those in volleyball was accounted for by the fact that a large portion of volleyball executives was employed in educational institutions where a degree is a minimal requirement. Bratton noted that there was a slightly higher percentage of degree holders at the higher levels of administration, perhaps indicating that education is a factor which is considered when individuals are elected to these positions.

In terms of income Bratton(1970) found that over 50% of executives of both sports had incomes in excess of $10,000 when only 25% of the population were in this income bracket. Again the income figures for those volunteers who worked at the national level were higher than for their provincial or local counterparts. Bratton felt that the fact that national level volunteers usually paid some of the expenses incurred through their position may discourage those from the lower socioeconomic levels from becoming involved.

In terms of the executive's occupations, Bratton indicated that 45% of volleyball members were employed in positions in education as opposed to only 10% of swimming members. This again reflects the fact that volleyball is prevalent in educational institutions. Using the National Opinion Research Council Scale for classifying occupations, Bratton found a substantial proportion of his sample held high status occupations.

Beamish(1978), in his study of national level sport administrators, discovered that over two-thirds of his sample were employed in professional or technical positions. Also 80% of his sample came from the top 20% of the country's income bracket and many (69.2%) held university degrees. This proliferation of upper socioeconomic class individuals, Beamish(1978:130) suggested, may indicate that Canadian amateur sport is "becoming more bureaucratized, requiring a selection process based on white collar skill differentiation and work requirements". In an extension of the Beamish study, Hollands and Gruneau(1979) examined the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of national level volunteer sport executives in the years 1955, 1965, and 1975. They found that socioeconomic representation was becoming less equitable. For example the percentage of sport executives who held a university degree had risen from 34.3% in 1955 to 62.4% in 1975. For the population of Canada only census figures could be used and these revealed that between 1960 and 1971 there was a slight change in the number of degree holders, the figures rising from 3.1% to 4.7%.

Slack(1979) in his study found the education level of volunteer sport administrators in Alberta to be considerably higher than that of the population of the province. Forty-seven percent of sport administrators held a degree whereas the corresponding figure for the population of the province was 7.4%. Of the 43.7% in Slack's study 18.2% had also obtained a graduate degree. Twenty-two percent of Slack's sample had been or were currently employed in the fields of physical education or recreation. In terms of their occupation the respondents in Slack's study were classified using the Blishen socioeconomic index. Nearly 60% of the sample obtained a score of over 60 on the index indicating that many of them held high status occupations. The income of the respondents was consistent with previous findings. Over 73% of volunteer sport administrators' families earned over $22,000 per year. This compares to a similar figure of 33% for families in Alberta.

In her Ontario study, Theberge(1980) used education to assess the social status of her respondents and she found more than half had completed a university degree. Male executives, however, had higher educational levels than women, evidenced by the 46.8% of male executives who had post graduate studies while only 27.6% of females had similar qualifications.

As can be seen, similar to studies on gender inequality, the research that has focused on class inequality has been mainly descriptive in nature and has not attempted to address the problem of why these inequalities exist. As suggested earlier many of the structural constraints that limit female involvement may also limit lower class involvement. Hollands and Gruneau have noted the importance of considering structure as a factor in limiting participation in voluntary groups. They state:

> When researchers have identified varying rates of athletic participation in different classes or status groups in societies, they have tended to theorize (sometimes unconsciously) about the degree to which the rates of participation in question are the result of different values and individual choices, or whether they are the result of institutionalized structural arrangements that limit the opportunities of whole groups who share certain social characteristics (e.g. similar occupational status, gender, ethnicity, etc.)(1979:1-2).

In their study, one of the few, which attempts to explain class inequality in voluntary organizations by reference to structural constraints, Hollands and Gruneau offer several interesting points.

It was found that from the three samples of volunteer executives studied there was little democratization of the group in terms of occupation between the 1955 and the 1975 samples, the 1975 group holding even more higher level occupations than the 1955 group. Hollands and Gruneau suggested that some people may not see this as a problem and would suggest that we be more concerned with the procedures that allow individuals equal opportunity, i.e., the educational system. Supporters of this argument would think that because of the equal access to the educational system that is presently available, more people, regardless of such characteristics as class or gender, are able to develop skills that are applicable to management positions. This increased educational opportunity correlated with the increased specialization that has occurred in voluntary sport organizations should work towards the democratization of amateur sport. As Hollands and Gruneau express it:

> ...as the demands of sport administration have become more complex, the kinds of skills and resources required have supposedly been more "objectively" determined and less subject to such "non-rational" factors as the "old-boy" network, long-time family involvement in sport, or past athletic performance(1979:29).

Despite the possible merit of this type of argument Hollands and Gruneau do not see it as useful in explaining the situation of class inequality in voluntary sport organizations. Rather they argued that:

> Recruitment on a range of more "objective" criteria based on educational background or occupational specialization may allow for some status mobility but likely works to reinforce existing class differences in society(1979:26).

The rationale they presented for this reinforcement of class differences is sound. They saw education not as a neutral process but as one which bears the marks of inequality. They pointed out that:

> individuals who have managed to secure a high market position have often been able to secure for their children the kinds of resources that give them a "head-start" in the educational system. That is, in addition to straight forward economic advantages often available to them, these children are frequently the recipients of a certain measure of "cultural capital" as well. This cultural capital tends to take the form of an acceptance of the school system and its demands, a preliminary understanding of the middle-class standards of expression and behavior that define performance within the school, and an understanding of the desirability of "identifying" with the school and community through voluntary participation in various clubs and societies(1979:28).

Although the arguments which Hollands and Gruneau put forward are sound, their study offers little in the way of practical suggestions to counter the economically disadvantaged position in which certain individuals find themselves. One solution which may be put forward is an increase in training programs for all socioeconomic levels. Although this may help make the process of ascension to the upper levels of voluntary management more meritocratic, it still belies the problem of those who start from a more advantageous position.

Another process that Hollands and Gruneau suggested helps perpetuate social class inequality is that of social closure. Quoting from Parkin(1974:3) they see social closure as "the process by which social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to rewards and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles".

As Hollands and Gruneau noted(1979), an important feature of social closure is "credentialism" and this is tied to the educational system which can work against the underclass individual. They note increasing evidence of "credentialism" in certain aspects of amateur sport and suggest some of "the mystique" of this may have "spilled over" into voluntary organizations. Indeed suggestions have been made for an accreditation system for volunteer sport executives (cf. National Sport and Recreation Centre, 1983; Slack and Johnston, 1982). As noted, this type of system does benefit the middle and upper class individual but if properly administered it can be of even greater benefit in enabling underclass individuals to gain access to management positions.

Hollands and Gruneau also suggested two other ways in which "the structure of capitalist class relations" limit membership in voluntary associations. These are:

> a) the existing authority structure within capitalist enterprise that stems from the social relations over the control over one's labour...and b) the division of labour resulting from the technical relations of production(1979:30).

In regard to the first factor, it is suggested that since the labour process exists as it does, i.e., with one group of people giving commands and one receiving, the manual worker who is usually subject to receiving commands "often possesses (or is seen to possess) little skill in the planning and execution of policy decisions made in his work environment". Hollands and Gruneau(1979:30) suggested that this carries over to other aspects of life ,and since amateur sport now requires a high degree of planning and policy making there is an underrepresentation of manual workers in positions of authority.

Hollands and Gruneau's final factor concerning class inequality is related to the manufacturing division of labour. They see a separation of conception and execution. In regard to sport this may be taken to mean a separation of those who make policy and those for whom the policies are designed, a situation that many would suggest is currently becoming more pronounced in Canadian amateur sport.

In summary, it may be stated that there have been several studies that have confirmed the existence of gender inequality in Canadian voluntary sport organizations. Few of these studies have attempted to explain why such conditions exist. The literature on organizations of a more profit oriented nature offers some ideas that may be applied to voluntary sport organizations.

In terms of class inequality a similar situation exists. Studies of voluntary sport organizations have shown the lack of lower class representation in the administration of amateur sport, yet little research has been undertaken to explain why these class differences exist. Many of the structural reasons attributed to causing gender inequality may also apply to class, or other types of inequality. One study on voluntary sport organizations that did attempt to explain some of the class inequalities is by Hollands and

Gruneau(1979). They suggest that the unequal social positions from which people originate, the phenomenon of social closure, the existing authority structure under capitalist enterprise and the manufacturing division of labour all contribute to this phenomenon. One of the sub-problem areas of this study will be to try to build on work already completed to determine if and why class and gender inequalities exist in the selected voluntary sport organization.

D. The Acquisition of Power

The concept of power is one of the most widespread yet most problematic in both the sociological and organizational theory literature. While some researchers have suggested that there is an overabundance of writing on power (Clark, 1967), others have indicated that the concept "has not received much attention" (Kotter, 1977). Martin (1971:240) suggested that "theorizing about power has often been confusing, obscurantist and banal" and he adds "It is not surprising that March concluded that 'on the whole power is a disappointing concept'".

One of the major problems surrounding the concept of power is in its definition. Writers such as Bierstedt (1950:730) have attempted to distinguish it from concepts such as prestige, influence, dominance and rights. Others such as Styskal(1980:929) have used it synonymously with concepts such as authority. Weber(1947:152), in The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations, saw power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests". Weber saw authority as different from power in that it did not imply force but was legally sanctioned by rules and regulations. Kreitzer(1965:375), like Weber, saw power as "in some way involving the imposition of one's will on others". Martin(1971:243) saw a number of weaknesses in this approach as he suggested that the assumption that there is conflict or antagonism in the relationship "ignores the possibility that power relations may be relations of mutual convenience: power may be a resource facilitating the achievement of the goals of both A and B". Martin also saw as problematic, in the Weberian definition of power, the fact that "it transposes a property of interactions, of interrelations, into a property of actors". That is to say that power in this type of definition is seen as being personalized not a result of the social relationships between the actors. In regard to this Emerson noted that these social relationships:

> ...commonly entail ties of mutual dependence between parties. A depends upon B if he aspires to goals or gratifications whose achievement is facilitated by appropriate actions on B's part. By virtue of mutual dependency, it is more or less imperative to each party that he be able to control or influence the other's conduct. At the same time these ties of mutual dependence imply that each party is in a position to some degree, to grant or deny, facilitate or hinder, the other's gratification. Thus it would appear that the power to control or influence the other resides in control over the

> things he values, which may range all the way from oil resources to ego support, depending on the relation in question(1962:32).

Kanter(1977:166) in one of the most parsimonious definitions also saw power as being the result of interpersonal transactions. She suggested "power is the ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet".

Power, then, involves a dependency. It does not exist on its own. It only exists in a relationship between individuals or between organizational sub-units. In organizations these relationships may be one of two types. They may be either vertical or horizontal relationships. Walmsley(1970:53) noted that in bureaucracies power would tend to be hierarchic, i.e., vertical: "each level would have just that amount necessary to carry out its responsibilities; ascendant levels in the hierarchy would have increasing power based on broader knowledge about the organization and/or greater task expertise..." Although this may be true in the ideal type bureaucracy we know that this state is never achieved. Different levels in the organization exhibit informal as well as formal relationships which are particularly important in all organizations, especially voluntary ones, for determining how power is acquired.

The horizontal relationships that occur in an organization are, at first glance, seemingly irrelevant for the study of power. If individuals or sub-units are on the same horizontal level as each other then they are, prima facie, vested with the same amount of power. However, the specialization that occurs through division of labour in an organization leads to the development of power relationships. As Pfeffer pointed out:

> This specialization, which permits the achievement of various kinds of economics of expertise as well as overcoming the limits of bounded rationality and limited information processing capacities (Thompson,1967) also leads inevitably to the creation of power differences within the organization. As soon as various actors do different parts of the whole task, the possibility arises that the various functions and activities may not be equally critical to task accomplishment and organizational survival. Those units responsible for accomplishing the more important tasks and activities come to have more influence in the organization. Thus, the differentiation of actors by the amount of power each possesses is an almost inevitable consequence of the division of labour in large organizations. The amount of power each actor possesses is derived, first, from the importance of the activity performed. It is in this sense that it can be said that power is structurally determined(1981:98).

The classic example which is frequently cited to illustrate this phenomenon of power relationships across the horizontal structure is taken from Michel Crozier's work The Bureaucratic Phenomenon(1967). Crozier's work took place in a tobacco factory where different departments existed along the horizontal structure. By far the most powerful of these departments was the maintenance men. As a result of the maintenance men's ability to repair machines, the production workers and supervisors who did not have this knowledge were at their mercy since if the machines broke down the factory was at a standstill.

The base from which Crozier's maintenance men achieved their power was their expertise to repair the machines. Several authors have suggested different bases for power. Probably the best known of these is that put forward by French and Raven(1968) who identified five different types of power. These were reward power, coercive power, expert power, legitimate power and referent power. What the maintenance men in Crozier's study established was expert power. This is the type of power that an individual or sub-unit gained by having a special knowledge or superior skills in a particular area. Reward power is that power which accrues to an individual or sub-unit that is able to provide rewards. For example superiors are often able to reward subordinates with salary increases, promotions or time off. Coercive power is the opposite of reward power and is that power obtained by the ability to impose negative sanctions on an individual or sub-unit. Legitimate power is a little more complex and relies on the fact that a person or sub-unit believes they are legitimately able to influence a recipient and the recipient believes he/she is obligated to comply. The final power base, referent power, occurs when a recipient identifies with the person who holds the power and tries to act and believe like she/he does.

Shetty noted that all five types of power base, as suggested by French and Raven, are found in organizations and are not completely independent of one another.

> Possession of one type of power can affect the extent and effectiveness of other types. The judicious use of reward and coercive power can increase the effectiveness of legitimate power. Inappropriate use, however, will decrease legitimate power. ...Legitimate power, reward power and coercive power are attached to formal positions and hence they are organizationally derived. Consequently they are often referred to as position power. Expert and referent power depend largely on traits and behavior of the person who occupies a position, so they are referred to as personal power(1978:177).

Johnson(1976:100), using an adaptation of the French and Raven classification, suggested that men and women use the power bases in different ways. She identified three dimensions of power style. The first of these is termed Indirect v Direct Power. Indirect power occurs when the recipient of the power is not aware of it, and is often termed manipulation. Johnson suggested that women are more likely to use indirect power than are men. The second power style is Personal v Concrete Power. Personal power is based on "liking or approval" whereas concrete power is based on concrete resources. Since males control most of the concrete resources in our society they are more likely to use this style. As a result of women's lack of access to concrete resources Johnson suggested they rely on power gained through helplessness as opposed to power gained through competence, her third power style.

Reward and coercion power bases, Johnson hypothesizes, are more likely to be used directly and with concrete resources by males. Females rely on personal and indirect reward and coercion. Referent power although appropriate to either sex is more likely to be used by women "as it is personal, rather inactive and therefore consistent with sex role expectations for women". Expert power is often associated with males since they have traditionally been seen as having superior skills and knowledge "it is usually used directly and is not very personal". Finally, legitimate power, since it relies on a belief in the authority of the power holder, is more likely to be the domain of males, as it is they who hold the majority of the authority positions in society. Johnson, however, also suggested another form of legitimacy which she terms legitimate helplessness. She notes that:

> helplessness, highly stereotyped as a female form of power was found by Gruder and Cook(1971) to be more effective for a woman than legitimacy of position, and more effective for a woman than a man. Thus helpless v position or obligation legitimacy varies on the competence dimension. Helplessness may also be less direct and more personally based(1976:105).

Kanter(1977:174) suggested that the French and Raven classification "is most useful for understanding one-on-one exchanges or the exercise of influence in rather small scale interpersonal situations. The politics of a large-scale system are more complex and often do not seem reducible to such simple elements". She sees other factors, such as formal position, competence, and the relative importance of functions, as important bases for power in a more complex organization.

Power, then, is derived from a number of sources. The question that is specifically important for this dissertation is how individuals or sub-units acquire power.

Organizations of any type are political. Politics involves the use of power; consequently, one source of obtaining power in an organization is from the people of the organization. If two sub-units with the same social organization and same resources vie for power then the larger number will always control the smaller number. Consequently, the size of an organizational sub-unit can help it acquire power. The only way a smaller organization, (e.g. the police) can control a larger group of people, (e.g. an unruly mob) is if they have superior resources, (e.g. guns, tear gas, etc.) or if they have a superior social organization, (e.g. are trained in riot control). As well as deriving power from the size of a sub-unit, power can also accrue to sub-units and individuals through their social relationships with other people in the organization. Kanter suggested that three types of people may affect the acquisition of power. These are sponsors, peers and subordinates. Sponsors, as has been previously argued, can influence the mobility of a person through an organization. Kanter(1977:181) also noted that "there are three other important functions...that generate power for the people sponsored". First, she suggested that "sponsors can fight for their proteges to ensure that they obtain promotions to powerful positions". Secondly, sponsors can often make it possible to bypass the hierarchy in an organization "to get inside information, to short circuit cumbersome procedures, or to cut red tape". In this way power is developed through a relationship with someone at a higher level. Finally, "sponsors also provide an important signal to other people, a form of reflected power". The power of a person or sub-unit lower down the echelons comes not from their resources or abilities but from the fact that they are able to gain from "the 'credit' extended to them because there appears to be a more powerful set of resources in the distance".

The second group of people that Kanter felt could influence the acquisition of power were peers. Peers are frequently overlooked in the process of attaining power but acceptance by one's peers is seen as a necessary step in obtaining the favours and recognition needed to acquire power. It is important that alliances be built up with peers as not only can it help an individual advance it "could advance the group as a whole *since* certain cohorts sometimes seem to produce all of the leaders in an organization"(Kanter, 1977:185).

The third group that Kanter suggested can influence power acquisition are subordinates. As she noted:

> ...the accumulation of power through alliances was not always upward oriented. For one thing, differential rates of hierarchial progress could mean that juniors or peers one day could become a person's boss the next. So it would be to a person's advantage to make alliances downward in the hierarchy with people who looked like they may be on the way up(1977:185-186).

It is also advantageous for power alliances to be made with subordinates as these are the people who enact the directives of the power holder. A lack of compliance by subordinates with the wishes of the power holder could make them (the power holders) look powerless. Another advantage of making alliances with subordinates is that they are the people who ultimately confer power on a person, i.e., the power holder's ability to get things done is dependent upon subordinates performing required activities. By increasing the number of alliances built up with subordinates a person therefore increases his/her chances of being powerful.

In addition to gaining power through people, power may also be gained by access to resources. Resources in an organization may take many forms; for example, money, knowledge, social ties, property, and competence. Resources are only useful as a source of power when they are scarce. For example, in Canada, the ability to drive is not a valued resource capable of confering power since many people have this ability. But, in some countries, this is not the case and the ability to drive is a resource of considerable value. Also for resources to be valuable they must be critical to the individual or sub-unit. Resources which are scarce but not of critical importance will not be useful as a source for acquiring power.

Pfeffer suggested that:

> ...organizations, as open social systems, require a continuing provision of resources and a continuing cycle of transactions with the environment from which these resources are derived...Those sub-units or individuals within the organization that can provide the most critical and difficult to obtain resources come to have power in the organization(1981:101)

One of the most critical resources to any organization, voluntary or otherwise, is money. Pfeffer(1981:101) suggested two reasons for its importance. First, money is easily converted into many of the other prized resources and second, "it can be stored and is relatively divisible in terms of its use".

Another particularly important resource that has been highlighted by Pettigrew(1972) is information. Pettigrew suggested that "gatekeepers", i.e., those who control the amount, type and distribution of information, are able to gain power in the organization by their strategic position and their access to information.

As noted earlier one of the factors which makes access to a resource a vehicle for acquiring power is the extent to which it is critical to the organization's operation, i.e., the extent to which the organization depends on this resource. Consequently those actors who can control the supply of a resource on which an organization depends are able to acquire power. Pfeffer noted that:

> ...this power will accrue regardless of how small a proportion of the total resources the given actor actually accounts for. Furthermore, with a relatively small amount of resource, if utilized in a strategically appropriate fashion resource dependence can be created. This will provide the social actor with discretionary control over the resource with tremendous power over the organization(1981:106).

Pfeffer suggested the federal government is particularly adept at this strategy, and although he was writing in the United States, his comment is particularly applicable to both federal and provincial governments in Canada and their relationships to voluntary sport organizations. Over the past twenty years governments have provided volunteer sport organizations with money. When first given this money it was what may be termed a discretionary resource, i.e., the organization could do what it wished with it. With time the organization incorporates this discretionary resource into its main budget. Consequently, the organization comes to depend on it. As the amount of money given is increased so that the voluntary sport organization becomes more dependent on government, a situation is created whereby government has become a power holder in relation to amateur sport.

People and resources are two of the sources of dependency which have been highlighted as capable of being utilized as power sources. In their strategic contingencies theory of intraorganizational power Hickson _et_ _al_ suggested that:

> Intraorganizational dependency can be associated with two contributing variables (1) the degree to which a sub-unit copes with uncertainty for other sub-units and (2) the extent to which a sub-unit's coping activities are substitutable. But if coping with uncertainty and substitutability are to be in some way related to power, there is a necessary assumption of some degree of task interconnection among sub-units. By definition organizations require a minimum link. Therefore a third variable centrality, refers to the varying degree above such a minimum with which the activities of a sub-unit are linked with those of other sub-units(1971:218).

Organizations of all types are constantly coping with uncertainties. These uncertainties may be of the nature of lack of knowledge about the organization's environment or they may be internal in nature. It is important to realize that the uncertainty is not what allows the acquisition of power but it is the ability of the sub-unit (or individual) to cope with uncertainty that develops this power. The work of Hickson _et_ _al._ on uncertainty stems from earlier works by Cyert and March(1963) and Thompson(1967). They suggest that organizations are faced with uncertainty, but, because they are subject to criteria of rationality, they need certainty.

Crozier(1967:154) in his study of the French tobacco company explained the power of the maintenance men by their "control over the last source of uncertainty remaining in a completely routinized organizational system". The source of uncertainty was the breakdown of the machines and, because this could be particularly disruptive in the factory, the maintenance men as a result of their ability to fix the machines became particularly powerful.

The ability to cope with uncertainty does not, on its own, grant power since it must be linked with activities that are central to the organization and non-substitutable. The strategic-contingencies theory of power suggested that power will accrue to those sub-units which are capable of coping with uncertainty but which are not easily replacable in the function they serve. As Mechanic(1962:358) stated "other factors remaining constant, a person difficult to replace will have greater power than a person easily replaceable". In Crozier's study not only did the maintenance men have the ability to cope with the uncertainty of breakdowns but they also trained the new maintenance men "on the job". Instructions were passed on verbally and no written documents were available. Thus, the maintenance men were not easily replaceable. By controlling one source of power, i.e., knowledge about the machines, the maintenance men were able to acquire another source of power non-substitutability.

Pfeffer(1981:114) suggested that, in addition to not writing down information, another strategy used to retain power "involves using specialized language and symbols that make the expertise look even more arcane and difficult to comprehend". This tactic would be particularly applicable to sport and especially to coaches who in many sports develop a jargon specific to their sport.

Another strategy which Pfeffer(1981:114) suggested may be used to retain one's image of irreplacability is "to ensure that sub-units or individuals with knowledge that can substitute are not brought into the organization or even to the organization's attention". This tactic may be seen to be similar to Kanter's(1977:179) suggestion that for individuals or sub-units to gain power "they have to be visible, to attract the notice of other people". Hence those who wish to gain power have to make their special skills known to others, while those who wish to retain power attempt to keep anonymous those who have skills similar to the power holder.

As well as coping with uncertainty and being non-substitutable, individuals and sub-units that acquire power must be central to the functioning of the organization. The greater the centrality of the individual or sub-unit, the more its ability to cope with uncertainty and its non-substitutability will enable it to acquire power. Hickson et al suggested that:

> the activities of a sub-unit are central if they are connected with many other activities in the organization *and*...if they are essential in the sense that their cessation would quickly and substantially impede the primary workflow of the organization(1971:221).

In summary, it can be seen that power is derived from a number of sources. Also, there are several ways that an individual or organizational sub-unit can obtain power. One of the sub-problems of this study will be to use the literature just presented along with other data sets to determine how individuals or organizational sub-units within a selected voluntary sport organization gain their power.

E. Centralization

One of the major components of power is the capacity to determine organizational outcomes, i.e., to make decisions (or not to make decisions, as may be the situation) that influence the organization. In the case of most voluntary sport organizations the decision making body of the organization is the board of directors. For example, this is the situation in the CASA(AS). Although decisions are ratified by the A.G.M. they are done so en masse not as individual decisions and as one board member pointed out "I've never yet seen a case where one was turned back". The fact that the board of directors of a voluntary sport organization is able to make decisions is one major factor that makes it a powerful body. Paraphrasing Hall, we see several other factors also contribute to this acquisition of power.

> The board of directors may be able to develop a monopoly on the kinds of skills required for leadership, such as verbal ability, persuasive techniques and so on. They obtain political power within the voluntary organization through patronage and other favours. Given their position it is relatively easy to groom their successors. Since the nature of voluntary organizations involves a time cycle in regard to elections the board can provide the membership with continual reminders of what they have achieved and what they are going to try to achieve the next time. The skills developed in these aspects of the voluntary organization's operations are unlikely to be part of the rank and files repertoire(1982:175).

In addition to the above the board of directors also have the capacity to recreate structures, rules and budgetary allocations which in turn can ensure that they are reelected and that their power is reproduced.

In voluntary sport organization's studies by both Beamish(1978) and Slack(1979) have shown that the board members, i.e., those individuals who are able to control power, are centered in the major urban centers. In his study Beamish found that 78% of the executive members of national sport governing bodies came primarily from the larger urban centers in Canada while only slightly less than half the population lived in these centers. Beamish also noted that

43.8% of the executives came from Canada's five largest urban centers. Slack(1979), in a study of volunteer sport executives in Alberta, found 83% lived in the two major cities in the province. He noted that this was the case despite the fact that the Sports and Fitness Section of the provincial government had actively encouraged decentralization of provincial sport governing bodies through the use of zone representatives on the provincial sport governing body executive. As a consequence of this geographic concentration of board members we may therefore suggest that power in a voluntary sport organization, like the CASA(AS), is geographically centralized. This centralization makes it easier for members to communicate with each other and often with the major agencies with which it interacts, it also makes control of the organization easier.

In organizations which exhibit characteristics of an ideal type bureaucracy, as it has been proposed voluntary sport organizations do, it may be redundant to suggest that they would be anything but centralized. As Blau(1970:150) points out "bureaucracies are often defined as organizations in which authority is centralized in the hands of a top executive by means of a hierarchial structure". Bratton(1970:11) has indicated that voluntary organizations fulfill this criterion, i.e., they are oligarchic in nature. Weber(1946:197) noted that one of the characteristics of bureaucracy is that there is "a firmly ordered system of super- and subordination in which there is a supervision of the lower offices by the higher ones".

Inspite of the fact that some researchers have written ? that bureaucratization automatically leads to centralization, several other investigators have intimated the opposite effect. Mintzberg(1979:195) noted this idea began with Pugh _et al._ (1963) who found no strong relationship between a unitary variable made up of a number of Weber's dimensions of bureaucracy and a variable they labelled "concentration of authority"(centralization). In studies ensuing from Pugh's data several conflicting opinions were formed on the question of whether or not bureaucracies are centralized. The problem was essentially that the complexities of centralization did not allow it to be combined into a single factor(Mintzberg,1979:196).

Those who have supported the premise that bureaucracies are centralized have done so because they see power as being centralized in a hierarchy of authority. Those who have argued that bureaucracies are decentralized do so in part because the allocation of rules allows subordinates some discretion in their actions, and in part because standards of qualification for a position decreases risk for management by ensuring reliability of performance. On the contrary, Crozier(1967:189) suggested that rules weaken members of the organization and that they are "totally deprived of initiative and completely controlled by rules imposed...from the outside",i.e., from the central administration.

It would appear, then, that there is no clear cut indication of whether or not bureaucracies are centralized. If the rules of the bureaucracy are rigidly developed and applied by the upper level of management to the subordinates and if there is little flexibility for subordinates, then the organization is centralized. On the other hand if the upper levels of management impose few rules, or particularly rules that have a large degree of flexibility, then the subordinates have some freedom in the interpretation of these rules and the organization can be described as decentralized.

Centralization may then be seen as a continuum. All organizations exhibit some degree of centralization and some degree of decentralization, and several factors contribute to the position on the continuum at which an organization lies.

It has been suggested by Gibson et al. (1973:136) that in general the larger an organization is the more likely it is to be decentralized because decision making has to be delegated. Blau and Schoenherr(1971:130) suggested that size can be paradoxical, since a large organization "produces conflicting pressures on top management, as it heightens the importance of managerial decisions, which discourages delegating them, and simultaneously expands the volume of managerial responsibilities which exerts pressure to delegate some of them".

Power may be more likely to be decentralized in a large organization where the personnel at the lower levels are required to have standardized qualifications. However, it should be noted that in these cases the level of qualifications is often controlled by the central authority. Mansfield(1973) showed that with increasing size of an organization there is an increasing number of rules which consequently leads to decentralization but not to a loss of control. The number of levels of hierarchy in an organization can also lead to decentralization. Blau(1970:165) noted that "a multilevel hierarchy that removes the top executive far from the lowest levels of employees, therefore, creates pressures on him to delegate personnel responsibilities to middle managers in closer contact with the requirements of the position to be filled". Blau also noted that Pugh _et al._(1963) found a multilevel hierarchy to be negatively correlated with centralization.

Technology is another factor which may add to the question of decentralization. Work that is simple and routine can easily be delegated. Therefore it may be suggested that in an organization with a few tasks which are simple decentralization will occur. In an organization with many different tasks that require multiple technologies the control will be centralized.

In regard to the question of whether or not an organization should be centralized or decentralized it is important to note that there are both advantages and disadvantages to each state. Centralization obviously allows for greater coordination since all decisions go through one central authority. Also this authority can make decisions quickly and should also be able to see the impact of those decisions on the whole organization, something that does not occur when an individual department makes a decision on its own. Under decentralization there is room for individual concerns to be taken into account when decisions are made. However, decisions may take longer and sometimes decisions taken in one part of the organization can adversely affect other parts. One point which Kanter(1977:273) made about decentralization which may have relevance for voluntary sport organizations is that decentralization creates more leadership opportunities. This may be important to volunteers since it provides them with some degree of status, a factor which, for many people, is a key motivator in volunteering.

In summary, the literature on whether or not bureaucracies are or are not centralized is conflicting. What is suggested is that all organizations show some degree of centralization. One of the sub-problem areas of this study is to investigate what factors in a voluntary sport organization contribute to this centralization.

F. The Environment of the Voluntary Sport Organization

To date this review has been concerned with areas that are intrinsic to the voluntary sport organization -- bureaucratization, class and gender inequality, the acquisition of power, and centralization. But the voluntary sport organization does not exist in isolation it is a part of a larger social structure which may be termed "an environment". In any analysis of an organization the analyst would be amiss if he or she did not consider this environment in the investigation.

Essentially, the environment of an organization may be anything outside the organization, its clients, government, the economic climate, the political situation, the weather. Since it is obviously impossible for an analyst to focus on all these factors and not all are relevant what usually occurs is that certain relevant aspects of the organizational environment are considered.

Hall(1977:303) suggested that the environment may be divided into two categories -- " general conditions that must be of concern to all organizations and specific environmental influences on the organization". In the first category are listed conditions relating to technology, law, politics, economics, demographics, ecology and culture. In the second category Hall included "organizations and individuals with which the organization is in direct interaction".

The composite of the focal organization (i.e., that specifically under study and those organizations and individuals, in the environment, with which it has a direct link) is called the organizational set. The concept may be seen as somewhat similar to Merton's(1957:369) concept of role set "that complement of role relationships which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status" (Aldrich, 1979:279).

The individuals and organizations that comprise an organizational set are determined by identifying their link to the focal organization. Aldrich suggests this may be achieved by:

> Resource flows, whether information, goods and services, or other resources and contact between boundary-spanning roles of the focal organization and others(1979:280).

Resource flows may occur in a situation in which the focal organization depends on an individual or organization for some resource it needs to effectively fulfill its role. Hall(1977:327) suggested that organizations in this position may enter into an exchange relationship where resources are traded, if the resources are of unequal value then one organization may become dependent on another. By providing the needed resource the organization or individual establishes a link with the focal organization and hence becomes a part of the organizational set.

Individuals or organizational units in boundary spanning roles, those which have direct interaction with other organizations, may serve two purposes. They may process information from the environment so that it may be encapsulated and disseminated to the appropriate parts of the organization. Alternately they have an "external representation function" that is they represent the focal organization to the environment and mediate or act as a buffer between these two. In these two ways linkages are established with the focal organization.

There are several methods for analyzing interorganizational relationships in the organizational set. Aldrich(1979:278) suggests four bipartite components that he terms formalization, intensity, reciprocity and standardization.

He(1979:273-274) saw that formalization may exist in two dimensions. The first of these he refers to as "agreement formalization". This is the extent to which a transaction between two organizations is given official recognition and legislatively or administratively sanctioned". The relationship between a national sport association and its provincial counterpart may be one of agreed formalization since this relationship is often legislated in the by-laws of both organizations. The second dimension of formalization Aldrich refers to as structural formalization. "This mode of formalization can be identified as the extent to which an intermediary organization coordinates the relationship between two or more organizations".

The second component of Aldrich's interorganizational analysis is intensity. As is the case with formalization, two dimensions are presented. The first dimension of intensity is "the magnitude of the organization's resources that are committed to a relationship". The second dimension is the frequency of the interaction in the relationship.

The third component, reciprocity, also has two dimensions. Resource reciprocity "is the extent to which resources in a transaction flow to both parts equally", if the resources are of the nature of services or facilities then measurement is much harder than if the resource can be assigned a value such as money. The second dimension of reciprocity refers to "the extent to which the terms of a transaction are mutually agreed upon, with equal contributions from all organizations involved".

Aldrich's final component of interorganizational analysis is termed standardization. Unit standardization refers to "the extent of similarity between individual units of the resources in a transaction". If units are standardized it is often easier to deal with them. Unstandardized units may pose problems for organizational procedure. The second component, procedural standardization, refers to "the degree of similarity over time in the procedures used for transactions with another organization".

These four components of Aldrich's interorganizational analysis may be used to explain the relationships that exist between the organizations that compile the organizational set. One of the sub-problem areas of this study will be to identify the organizations that comprise the organization set for the voluntary sport group. These relationships will be examined in terms of Aldrich's four components: formalization, intensity, reciprocity and standardization. A better understanding of these relationships should help increase knowledge of the functioning about the volunteer sport organization.

Chapter III

Methods and Procedures

A. The Selection of the Voluntary Sport Organization

Since the purpose of this research was to undertake an organizational analysis of a voluntary sport organization, one of the first tasks in the study was to select an appropriate organization. Several factors were considered in this process. First, the organization had to be one which exhibited a fairly high level of development. Since one aspect of the research study was concerned with bureaucratization a new or relatively undeveloped organization would not offer the opportunities to examine the process of bureaucratization as would a more developed organization. Second, because one of the sub-problem areas to be investigated related to gender inequality, the organization had to be one that appeared, on the face of it, to allow equal access to both genders. For example, boxing, because it is primarily a male sport, and synchronized swimming, because it is primarily a female sport, would not have been suitable organizations to study. Similarly, since class inequality was one of the sub-problems with which this study was concerned the organization had to be one which ostensibly was open to all social class levels i.e., yacht racing or polo would not have been good choices!

Finally, the level at which the organization operated, i.e., international, national, provincial or local, had to be decided. The latter decision was the first and probably the easiest one to make. International and national level voluntary sport organizations were eliminated because it was felt that interviewing appropriate personnel from these organizations would be extremely problematic. Of the remaining levels of organizations, inter-provincial, provincial, regional and local, the provincial level was seen as the most appropriate for several reasons. First, provincial level voluntary sport organizations are large enough to have a relatively well developed organizational structure yet not so large that data collection would prove a problem. Second, the membership of provincial level organizations showed some degree of stability that may not have been found at the lower levels. Finally, and probably most important, my own involvement in sport, as both an executive of a sport organization and as a consultant for a large number of provincial sport organizations, provided me with a good knowledge of the dynamics of this level of organization.

In addressing the question of which voluntary sport organization to choose at the provincial level several were considered. Two seemed to fit the criteria previously mentioned. These were The Alberta Badminton Association and The Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. After consideration of both it was decided to select The Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section [CASA(AS)]. There were several factors that led to this decision. First, the CASA(AS) has been established longer than the Alberta Badminton Association. Secondly the CASA(AS) is generally considered by individuals knowledgeable about sport, to be one of the best organized sport groups in Alberta and possibly Canada. This is evidenced in several ways, for example the size of its budget, the scope and quality of programs it runs, and the quality of athletes, coaches, officials and administrators who are members of the organization. The third reason for its selection was that swimming was felt to be a more widely practiced sport than badminton. Finally it was a sport in which both Canada and Alberta had achieved a fair amount of success. It was decided, nevertheless, to utilize the Alberta Badminton Association for the pilot study for this research.

B. Research Methods and Data Gathering Techniques Used in This Study

Once the selection of the voluntary sport organization had been made an appropriate research method had to be selected. Of the three classical social research methods, the case study, the survey and the experiment the first mentioned was obviously the most logical to use in this dissertation.

The purpose of the case study is to observe a sample group,(in this research the group being studied is the CASA(AS)), at one point in time and to describe the situation that exists. Case studies may be of two types historical or current. Historical case studies are undertaken employing secondary data, i.e., already existing information. Current case studies are undertaken employing primary data, but not of a survey kind. In this case study, because it examined the development and present state of the CASA(AS), both types of approach, historical and current, were used. Two data gathering techniques were used to collect the information required for the study. For the historical aspect of the case study the technique used was the acquisition of organizational documents. For the current case study the focused or unstructured interview was used. Since, for the most part, the research focused on the current situation in the CASA(AS) the focused interview comprised the main data gathering technique. The interview is one of the most popular and productive tools in social science. Madge supported this when he pointed out that

> What social scientists are interested in are people, and if you want to find out something about a person, surely the best way is to ask...(1965:162).

Of the several types of interviews one of the most useful forms is the focused interview. The focused interview differs in several ways from other types of interviews. These differences made it the most appropriate type of interview for this study. First the people who are interviewed "are known to have been involved in a particular situation". In this study the common situation was the interviewee's involvement in a voluntary sport organization.

Second, significant aspects of the situation had undergone prior analysis by the researcher. Merton et al. explained the advantages of this:

> Equipped in advance with an analysis of the situation, the interviewer can readily distinguish the objective facts of the case from the subjective definitions of the situation. He is thus alerted to the patterns of selective response. Through his familiarity with the objective situation the interviewer is better prepared to recognize symbolic or functional silences, distortions, avoidances, or blockings and is, consequently, better prepared to explore their implications. The prior analysis thus helps him detect and to explore private logics, symbolism and spheres of tension. It helps him guage the importance of what is not being said, as well as of what is being said, in successive stages of the interview.
>
> Finally, prior content or situational analysis facilitates the flow of concrete and detailed reporting of responses. Summary generalizations by the interviewee means that he is presenting not the raw data for interpretation but the interpretation itself(1956:4).

The prior analysis in this study was facilitated by several factors. First, the research work that I had previously carried out in this area, although descriptive, had provided me with a basic understanding of the sub-problem areas to be addressed. Second, my prior involvement as a past executive member of a voluntary sport organization and as a consultant for a large number of voluntary sport organizations had given me insights into the problems of such groups. Third, my involvement in teaching and research on voluntary sport organizations had enhanced my knowledge of the nature of these organizations.

Based on these areas of prior analysis an interview guide was prepared. The third criterion used by Merton et al. for differentiating the focused interview was related to the fact that a guide which would lay out the major areas of inquiry for the study could be prepared. The interview guide which was used in this research will be outlined later in the chapter.

The fourth item identified by Merton et al.(1956:3) relative to the uniqueness of the focused interview was that the interview "is focused on the subjective experiences of persons exposed to the pre-analyzed situation in an effort to ascertain their definition of the situation". In this study the people referred to are members of a voluntary sport organization and the situation was their involvement in that organization.

As well as obtaining data from focused interviews with individuals involved in the voluntary sport organization this study also utilized organizational documents to obtain data for the historical aspects of the case study. Babbie(1979:234) pointed out that possible resources for this type of data are books, speeches, letters, constitutions and so on. The collection of documents is a particularly suitable data gathering technique in the study of organizations, especially those involved with government, since there is often a large amount of this type of material. It allows researchers to determine who said what, to whom, when, sometimes why and with what consequences. It also enables a researcher to study the changes that have occurred in organizations by studying the records, such as minutes and reports, which are kept on these changes.

Once the data were obtained through these two data gathering techniques they were subject to content analysis. As Babbie(1979:234) notes, this type of analysis "may be applied to virtually any form of communication". Since all the data available in this study were obtained through either written or verbal communication, content analysis was seen as a useful method of analysis.

C. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Focused Interview Technique as a Source of Data Collection for this Study

With any method of obtaining data there are always certain advantages and disadvantages to its use. It is important to consider both these factors and how they may influence the particular research being undertaken.

One of the main advantages of the focused interview as a research tool is that it allows the investigator to obtain information about reactions and responses to various past events. If the researcher is not able to be present at these events this is often the only way in which they can gain information. Also by probing the situation surrounding the events, the interviewee's reaction to the event and their ensuing actions, an interviewer is able to grasp something of the social significance of the event. Since this study considered the development and subsequent bureaucratization of a voluntary sport organization and, because this required information about events which occurred over the period of the last fifty or sixty years, it was considered that the focused interview was the appropriate tool for the attainment of this information. Also, the focused interview allows the researcher to obtain a wholly representative selection of subjects. As a result of the fact that arranging and conducting focused interviews involves personal interaction, researchers are more likely to get a positive response to their requests for data than they would with an impersonal instrument such as a questionnaire. Since it was important, in this study, to get a good representation from people who had been involved in the organization at different time periods the interview was seen as an appropriate tool.

Another advantage of the focused interview as a research tool is that it generally yields more data than other survey research instruments. There are several factors which facilitate this increased data accumulation. First, focused interviews usually have a higher response rate than other survey research instruments. Babbie(1979:338) pointed out that a properly designed and executed interview survey ought to achieve a completion rate of at least 80 to 85 percent. Second, focused interviews, for the most part, do not restrict the type of questions that can be asked and therefore the type of data that are obtained. In addition focused interviews allow people to respond better to the questions posed and there is less likelihood of "don't knows" or "no answers". One of the reasons for this is that the interviewer is present with the respondent and they can interpret and correct misunderstandings about questions, and also they can probe for more in-depth answers. The final factor which facilitates the attainment of a maximum amount of data in the focused interview is the fact that this type of interview may be considerably longer than other survey research instruments, for example the questionnaire or telephone survey. While a respondent may be willing to be involved in a 1 1/2 hour interview it is unlikely they would complete a questionnaire or be involved in a telephone survey of this length. Given that it was desirable to gain as much data on the sub-problem areas as possible the interview once again appeared to be an appropriate tool.

The final advantage of the focused interview technique is the fact that it allows the researcher to make observations about the interviewees. In this study many of the interviews were conducted in the respondent's home or place of work which made it possible to draw some conclusions as to which socioeconomic class they belonged. Also in this study some of the questions asked were considered by some people to be "touchy", consequently, observation of the interviewee(i.e., the person being interviewed), when these questions were asked, yielded information which supplemented the verbal response.

As well as the advantages that the focused interview situation offers there are also a number of disadvantages that need to be considered. First, there may be a problem

6

with the fact that it is sometimes difficult to check interview data for validity because they may not be verifiable, i.e., the information given by the respondent has to be taken at face value. It was acknowledged that this was a concern for this study but not one which was insurmountable, since the questions asked to all respondents were very similar and repetition would help verify the information obtained. Also, the content analysis of organizational documents was used as a method of verifying data. Another problem with focused interviews is that as well as yielding the required data they can also generate a certain amount of what Burton(1976a) terms "dross", i.e., "material that is irrelevant to the research objectives". Although this is a problem it can be prevented by skillful interview techniques, also if "dross" is generated it can be eliminated through systematic content analysis. Focused interviews can also be problematic in that if data are required about past events, as was the case with this study, people's recollections of these events may not be totally accurate. Problems of this nature can be overcome by comparison and subsequent verification of data from several sources, e.g. other interviewees and organizational documents.

A major problem with focused interviews is that the researcher may experience reactive measurement error. Burton(1976b) explains this as "errors derived from the reactions of research subjects and investigators to each other". These errors may take several forms some of which have relevance for this study. For example, "the guinea pig effect" where subjects because they know they are being interviewed feel they must make a good impression and consequently may not respond truthfully. This type of effect can be partially eliminated through guarantees of anonymity but it is difficult to totally remove its influence. Another interviewee generated type of reactive measurement error Burton terms "subject role selection" because:

> an individual is aware that he [she] is part of a research process, he [she] is forced (consciously or subconsciously) to formulate his [her] role...it has been shown, for example, that interviewees will give the kinds of replies that they think interviewers will expect of them(1976b).

Again this type of problem is difficult to overcome; guarantees of anonymity and putting the interviewee at ease both help reduce the effect, but it is doubtful that it can ever be totally eliminated.

As well as the interviewee causing "reactive measurement errors", the interviewer can also be responsible for these. Particularly with a technique such as the focused interview the investigator may if he/she is not careful, through their dress, mode of speech or mannerisms, influence the responses they obtain. As with other types of reactive measurement error this is difficult to totally eliminate and one of the best ways to reduce it is by an awareness on the part of the interviewer of its existence.

Another problem of focused interviews is that they are costly both in terms of time and money. The actual time to conduct all the interviews in this study was in the region of 60 hours; however, the time to arrange the interviews, travel to conduct them and organize material was considerably more. In terms of the economics of the focused interviews this too was a problem. The cost of travelling to the interview sites, meals and accommodation were in the region of $800.00. The greatest cost was in terms of transcribing the interviews, this was approximately $1200.00. Although these factors of time and money were a problem for this study they were not ones which could not be overcome.

A final way in which the focused interview can be problematic is that it is not as anonymous as other survey research instruments. While this was seen as somewhat of a concern for this study all respondents were guaranteed anonymity and they were also informed that they could refuse to answer any questions they wished. No one refused to answer the questions posed to them.

Although it was acknowledged that the focused interview technique did yield some of the problems outlined above, its advantages over other methods for this type of study were many. Consequently the interview in its focused or unstructured form was the main data gathering tool for this study.

D. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Collection of Organizational Documents as a Data Source for This Study

As is the case with the interview technique, there are both advantages and disadvantages associated with the collection of organizational documents as a data source. Probably their greatest advantage is that they are cheap in terms of both economics and time. As long as the researcher can gain access to the material to be studied the research can be undertaken on a relatively small budget. Given that the other data gathering tool, i.e., the focused interview, had proven to be a somewhat costly methodology, the cheapness of acquiring organizational documents served to enhance its appropriateness for this study. As well as being cheap Babbie(1979:252) suggested that organizational documents are also a safe form of data. This may be taken to mean that if a researcher finds it necessary to repeat part of a study this is more feasible with organizational documents than with some other research techniques.

Organizational documents are also particularly useful for historical case studies in the sense that, provided some sort of records were kept, they allow the researcher to study any particular time period. In light of the fact that this study required data from the 1920's and 1930's and since many of the key actors from this period were found to be deceased, existing organizational documents proved to be a useful data gathering tool.

The methodology also has the advantage of being one of the most unobtrusive research techniques. Unlike the focused interview where "reactive measurement error" is high in collecting organizational documents the researcher seldom has any effect on the items of study.

The disadvantages of the use of organizational documents as a data source mainly stem from the fact that their use is dependent upon their availability and the fact that the information available is limited to that which exists in recorded form. This was somewhat of a problem in this study given that voluntary organizations are not usually the prolific record keepers that organizations of a profit making nature are. Written documents on the early days of the voluntary organization were scarce. Consequently the main sources of data on this time period were from the few individuals who were still living and who had been involved in the organization's early days. It should be noted, however, that the absence of data on the organization's early days may also tell a researcher something about the importance of record keeping for the original members.

Another disadvantage of organizational documents as a data source is that the investigator is faced with a high dross rate. As a result of the fact that the documents usually contain information that is not needed by the researcher, he/she is often faced with a large time commitment to sort the relevant from the irrelevant.

A final disadvantage that may occur with organizational documents relates to the fact that as they are secondary data there could be problems with reliability and validity. Since much of the data in this study were verified through comparison of different documents and through interview data this was not seen as a major problem. In spite of some of their shortcomings organizational documents are a particularly useful source of information about organizations, especially their past, as such it was felt these type of data were appropriate for this study.

E. Pilot Study for the Collection of Interview Data

A preliminary interview schedule was developed during the months of October and November 1982. The topics covered in the Interview Schedule related to the sub-problem areas previously outlined in this study. During late November and early December 1982 seven members of the Alberta Badminton Association were interviewed using this schedule. Data obtained from the focused interviews were discussed with members of the dissertation supervisory committee and based on their recommendations and other related factors, the interview schedule was modified to the form in which it appears here.

F. Topics Addressed Through the Interview

The themes to be covered in the focused interview dealt primarily with the sub-problem areas of the study. These were concerned with:

1. the bureaucratization of the volunteer sport organization;
2. the manifestations of bureaucratization that are apparent in the volunteer sport organization;
3. the consequences of bureaucratization in the volunteer sport organization;
4. the reasons for the existence of gender inequality in the volunteer sport organization;
5. the reasons for the existence of class inequality the in volunteer sport organization;
6. the ways in which people and/or organizational sub-units acquire power positions in the voluntary sport organization;
7. the reasons for the centralization of power in certain geographic areas; and
8. the other organizations with which the volunteer sport organization interacts and how these influence the volunteer sport organization.

In addition, information was solicited which provided some biographic and demographic data on the respondents.

The topic areas are listed in the following chart and they are broken down into the sub-areas that were addressed during the course of the interview. It should be noted that the essence of the focused interview lies in allowing the respondents to pursue the topic areas at their own pace and in their own manner. It was not necessarily the researcher's intention to address the topic areas as they occurred in the chart below. What this type of approach sacrifices in precision it makes up for in the richness of detail that is subsequently obtained. The following questions were posed to each of the people interviewed. As noted, no standard ordering of the questions was used but every attempt was made to get an answer to each question.

1. **Subject's knowledge about the history and development of the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section.**
    a. Do you know anything about the history of the CASA(AS) for example: how it was started, who were the key figures in its formation, what was its initial role?
    b. Could you outline to me, during the course of your involvement in the CASA(AS), how the organization has developed and what changes have taken place in it?
    c. In your opinion what have been the major events in the development of the CASA(AS)?
    d. What is your opinion of the changes that have taken place in the CASA(AS). How have these changes affected swimmers and the sport of swimming?

2. **Subject's knowledge about the manifestions of bureaucracy that currently exist in the CASA(AS).**
    a. *Personally Free*
        1) During what time period do you conduct most of the work you undertake for the CASA(AS)?
        2) In what place (home, office, Percy Page Centre, etc.) do you conduct most of your CASA(AS) business?
        3) Does it cost you money, out of your own pocket, to be a member of the CASA(AS)?
        4) In addition to your contact through swimming do you socialize with other members of CASA(AS)?
        5) In regard to the preceding four questions how have these situations (i.e., the time period you conduct your CASA(AS) work, the place you

conduct the work, your personal cost, and the people you socialize with) changed during the course of your involvement in the CASA(AS)?

b. *Hierarchy of Offices*
   1) In what way does the president of the CASA(AS) convey his official requests (e.g. a new policy regarding the eligibility of swimmers) to the individual swim club members?
   2) In what way would the president of the CASA(AS) seek input into the making of such policy decisions?
   3) If a swim club member wished to appeal the decision of a member or a committee of the CASA(AS) what steps would he or she take?

c. *Function of Offices*
   1) The CASA(AS) provides job descriptions for its executive officers, have you ever seen and read these job descriptions?
   2) Do you know what the official function of your position is ?
   3) Do you know what the official function of the other executive officers is?

d. *Appointed on a Contract*
   1) As a member of the CASA(AS) have you, at any time, in relation to any role you have been involved in, ever signed any type of contract?
   2) Do the officers of the CASA(AS) have a set term of office for which they are elected? Is this adhered to?
   3) Has the organization ever discussed the idea of having a contract for its officers?

e. *Professional Qualifications*
   1) Could you briefly outline to me your current employment position and a little of your educational background?
   2) Could you briefly outline to me your past and/or present involvement in sport (both swimming and other sports)?
   3) What qualifications have you received in the various aspects of swimming with which you are involved ?

f. *Money Salary*
   1) Do you receive any salary or honorarium for the role you play in the CASA(AS)?
   2) Do you receive any compensation for travel, meals, accommodations, etc.?
   3) Do you know how much this is for each of the different areas?

g. *Sole Occupation*
  1) How many hours a week do you feel you spend on swimming?
  2) How many hours do you spend on your paid work?

h. *Career Structures*
  1) Could you outline to me in chronological order what position you have held in swimming since your first involvement in it?
  2) Why do you think you have been able to move up to the position you are now at?

i. *Non-Appropriation of Past*
  1) Is there any method in the CASA(AS) by which an executive member can nominate his/her successor?
  2) How do people get into executive positions on the CASA(AS)?

j. *Disciplinary Control*
  1) How are officials of the CASA(AS) disciplined should the need arise?
  2) Does action of this type occur very often?

k. In regard to the last series of questions do you feel that any of these things are changing in the CASA(AS)?

3. **Consequences of Bureaucratization**

  a. What changes do you feel are going to occur in the CASA(AS) as a result of the direction in which the organization is moving?
  b. What do you feel about these changes that you believe will occur, are they good or bad for the CASA(AS)?
  c. What effects will these changes have on the sport of swimming and its participants?

4. **Class Inequality**

  a. What attributes does it take to be an executive member of the CASA(AS)?
  b. Which occupational background do you feel the executive members of the CASA(AS) come from?
  c. What type of background do the swimmers come from?
  d. Are the members of the executive then representative of the participants in swimming?
  e. Why do you think this discrepancy exists?
  f. Do you see this as being beneficial to swimming?
  g. Does the CASA(AS) have a responsibility to get a broader range of people involved in the administration of swimming?
  h. If so, how should it go about doing this?

5. **Gender Inequality**

   a. Over the period of the past 20 years in CASA(AS) there has been one woman president, more men than women on the executive and a preliminary investigation shows that in regard to husband and wife teams in the organization the husband usually stays involved longer. Why do you think this is so?
   b. Do you feel there is a role for women as officers of the CASA(AS)?
   c. Is this role different from the role men play?
   d. What prevents women from becoming high level officers or having long careers with the CASA(AS)?
   e. Should the CASA(AS) do anything to increase the involvement of women in the organization?
   f. What could it do?
   g. Has the organization ever talked about doing anything like this?
   h. How does someone get to be an officer of the CASA(AS)?

6. **Power Acquisition**

   a. In your opinion who are the most powerful people in the CASA(AS)? (May define power.)
   b. Why do you feel these people are powerful?
   c. How do they get to be powerful?
   d. Is their use of their power beneficial to the CASA(AS)?

7. **Centralization**

   a. In which geographic areas of the province do you feel swimming is the most powerful?
   b. What do you feel is the reason for these areas being powerful?
   c. Do you feel that this concentration of power is good for swimming?
   d. What, if any, efforts is the CASA(AS) making to promote its programs in the smaller urban and rural areas ?

8. **Environment**

   a. In your role with the CASA(AS) what are the main organizations or individuals with whom you deal?
   b. What are the reasons for these associations?
   c. How frequently do you meet these associations?

G. Selection of the Interview Sample and Collection of Interview Data

The sample to be used for the data collection came from executive members and key personnel involved in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. Essentially the sample consisted of two groups of people. The first was "the historical group", comprised of individuals who had been involved in the organization in its formative years of the late 1920's, early 1930's and through the period prior to its incorporation in 1963. The second group, termed "the modern group", consisted of key people who had been involved in the organization since its formal incorporation.

In regard to the former group the sample interviewed was comprised of nine people. The sample was essentially "an opportunity sample", i.e., due to the fact that many of the people whose names appeared on earlier records were deceased, living in distant parts of the world, or were not locatable, the people interviewed were all the only ones available. Although this was somewhat of a problem for obtaining data about certain periods of the organization's development, no solution to the problem was available, except for the fact that records did help fill some of the voids that existed.

"The modern group" were selected in a more systematic manner. The sampling frame was developed using the list of attendees at every annual general meeting of the organization since its incorporation in 1963. As a result of this process a list of approximately 600 names were generated. From the 600 names on the list it was felt that it was essential to take only those people who were the most knowledgable and most involved in the organization. A decision was made that those individuals who attended two or less annual general meetings would not have the longevity of involvement that would normally allow them to become thoroughly involved in the organization. As a result the list was reduced to 62 people. Again a decision was made that 62 people were too many to interview thoroughly. To further reduce the list several other factors were taken into account. First, the position an individual had held and the length of time he or she had been in this position were considered. Second, the frequency that an individual's name appeared in minutes, reports, etc. was taken into account. Finally, informal discussions were held with the organization's executive director and one member who had been heavily involved in the organization since its incorporation. Based on all of these factors, 25 people were selected to be interviewed. These combined with the nine members of "the historical group" gave a total sample of 34. The sample contained all the living presidents since the incorporation of the CASA(AS), all the current board members, and several individuals who had held key positions during the last twenty years.

The interviewing process began on February 17th, 1983. Each person in the sample was phoned and arrangements were made for the interview. At the interview, the purpose of the study was explained and all respondents were assured of the confidentiality of their conversation. The schedule previously outlined was used to guide the focused interview and depending on the respondent, i.e., whether they were a member of "the historical group" or "the modern group", certain aspects of the schedule were stressed. All respondents were asked if they minded the interviews being taped and none objected. The interviews varied in length from 35 minutes to 2 1/4 hours and all 34 were completed by May 4th, 1983.

H. Collection of Organizational Documents

Much of the documentation utilized in this study was obtained from the Executive Office of The Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. Also, when individuals in the sample were interviewed they were asked if they had any documents that would be useful to the study. Several interviewees provided materials and these combined with the organization's records provided the total data source of documents. The materials that were used in this study were as follows:

1. All minutes and reports from the organization's annual general meetings for the years 1934 to 1982 (the years 1956-1958 inclusive, 1960, and 1963-1965 inclusive were not available);
2. Minutes of all Executive Council (later Board of

Directors) Meetings from 1967 to 1982 (the minutes for meetings held January 9th,1971 and February 19th,1982 were not available);

3. The Constitution of the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association;
4. The By-Laws of the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section;
5. The Standing Orders of the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section;
6. The Alberta Coaches Council Handbook;
7. Miscellaneous reports, organizational documents and correspondence;
8. Rule books, officials' exams, score cards, etc.;
9. Miscellaneous press cuttings.

I. Treatment of the Data

Each of the 34 focused interviews were transcribed verbatim from the tapes, which resulted in approximately 1,200 pages of 8 1/2 x 11 inch double spaced typed text. All interviews were photocopied and one copy was kept for reference. The organizational documents were sorted and placed in chronological order in binders.

J. Content Analysis of the Data

The data obtained from the focused interview and from the organizational documents were analyzed using content analysis. Babbie(1979:240) suggests two forms of this process, manifest content analysis and latent content analysis. Burton and Dale suggest the difference between the two is that:

> the former approximates the type of analysis applied to standardized questionnaires, consisting of counts of words, phrases and terms that have been judged as central or critical to the issue at hand. It reflects a quest for numerical objectivity in the analysis, but in so doing it negates to a considerable extent the richness of detail that is obtained through the unstructured interview. Latent content analysis, in contrast, requires the review of an entire paragraph or section of the transcript in order to identify its major thrust or intent. It is a means of discovering the subtleties and underlying depth of meaning in any communication(1984 forthcoming).

Manifest content analysis is concerned with specificity of understanding and as such it gives high reliability. It has disadvantages however in terms of validity. In contrast latent content analysis is concerned with depth of understanding. It "emphasizes the desire for validity and the need to assure that the particular measure that is employed reflects accurately the true meaning of the phenomenon under study"(Burton and Dale, 1984 forthcoming).

The nature of this study was to use Burton's(1981) terms "exploratory and indicative rather than definitive and representative". That is to say its purpose was to explore how and why certain phenomenon occurred in a voluntary sport organization rather than specifically defining these phenomenon and measuring incidences of their occurrence. As an "exploratory and indicative" study this research therefore placed greater emphasis on a depth of understanding and as such the main method of content analysis was latent analysis.

Through this process information on each of the sub-problem areas was extracted from the two data sets, the focused interviews and the organizational documents. The information was xeroxed and pasted onto blank sheets and filed under the appropriate sub-problem areas. When both of the two data sets had been analyzed the sub-problem files were examined individually and a series of reference notes and an index was made for each. As each section of the results of the study was being written the file was reread, additional notes were made and these combined with the previously developed notes and indexes formed the basis for the text.

K. Summary

In summary, the study used the case study method of research and two data gathering techniques were employed, the focused interview and the acquisition of organizational documents. The interview schedule was developed around the sub-problem areas of the study. A pilot study was conducted to test the interview schedule. Thirty-four interviews were conducted with past and present CASA(AS) members. A variety of organizational documents were collected, these covered the period 1934 to 1983. All interview data and organization documents were analyzed for content and grouped according to their relevance to the sub-problem areas. This material was then used to develop the results section of the study.

Chapter IV

Results and Discussion

A. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to report the results of the analysis of data. More specifically the chapter will present information on the seven sub-problem areas that were outlined in Chapter I. However, prior to the presentation of results, a brief description of the CASA(AS) as it presently exists, will be given. It was felt that this approach would help readers of this dissertation to situate the ensuing results in a more meaningful perspective.

The CASA(AS) 1983

The Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section is the provincial sport governing body responsible for competitive swimming in Alberta. The organization is divided into a Northern and Southern region and has 32 member clubs. It is run by a board of ten directors and employs two full-time and one part-time staff. The staff work out of an office which is located in St. Albert. One of the organization's functions is to register all competitive swimmers. Currently there are 1,661 year round swimmers who are members of the organization. The organization has an annual budget of $256,900.00.

B. The Bureaucratization of the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section

Introduction

Prior to 1875 swimming in Canada was mainly of a recreational nature. Lindsay(1969:187) and Cox(1969:324) both draw attention to the fact that competitive races were a very infrequent occurrence in this era. They did increase in number in the period 1875-1900 but they were mainly held in Toronto and Montreal(Jones, 1970:328). The first "official" Canadian Swimming Championships were held in 1898. It was not until 11 years later, on May 1st, 1909, that the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association (CASA) was formed in Montreal. The purpose of the Association was to "control amateur aquatics -- swimming, diving and waterpolo in Canada"(Jones,1970:332). Its first championships were held in Hamilton, Ontario in 1909.

In Alberta competitive swimming also started in 1909 when the Calgary "Y" held the first Alberta Championships(Calgary Albertan, June 25th, 1909). The Championships became an annual affair until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. They were not the domain of any provincial association since none existed. Rather, the responsibility for their organization was assumed by one of the clubs that had been set up in Edmonton and Calgary. The provincial championships were resumed after the war, with the responsibility for hosting remaining within the club structure. The events held did not by any means reflect a complete swimming program. In the main they were an indication of the particular areas of strength that a given club had. Swimming events were usually accompanied by plunging events, neat and fancy dives and a variety of social activities. Attempts were made to alternate provincial championships between Edmonton and Calgary. Calgary, however, had only one indoor and one outdoor pool and this had the effect of holding back the development of swimming in this city. An extract from The Albertan (March 17th, 1917) exemplifies this situation.

> Each year the YMCA teaches hundreds of boys to swim...
>
> As those youngsters learn they have no place to practice. The "Y" pool can accommodate only a limited number. The Crystal pool is only open for a few months and its accommodation, too, is limited. What is needed are basins in the river -- at St. George's Island, at Mewata Park on the Bow, and near Elbow Park on the Elbow River.

Edmonton, in contrast, had four pools by 1925. The Y.M.C.A. indoor pool was opened in 1910(Jones 1970:333) and outdoor pools were built at Queen Elizabeth Park(The South Side), 1922; the West End, 1923; and Borden Park(The East End), 1925. As a result of this growth the meets that were held in Alberta were mainly held in Edmonton. Until 1927-28 there was no provincial organization to govern the affairs of swimming in the province or to run any of the provincial meets.

The Formation of the CASA(AS):(1927-28)

In the latter part of the 1920's the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section was organized. No actual date of formation is available, although several of the people interviewed agreed that the date was probably around 1927/1928. The key figures in the formation of the organization appear to have been a family, one father and his two sons, who instructed swimming at Edmonton's three pools. The Davidsons [2] had originally come from England in 1911. "Pop" Davidson, as the father was affectionately known, had been a swimming instructor there. "Pop" started his career instructing in the Y.M.C.A.'s indoor pool and when the southside pool opened in 1922 it was he who was to become its first pool superintendent. When the West End pool opened in 1923 "Pop" moved over to it and his son Bill took over at the southside. Similarly in 1925 when the East End pool opened "Pop" Davidson took over the main role there and his other son, Sam, assumed his duties at the West End. The interest that the Davidsons showed for swimming was highlighted by several interviewees. Jack Davidson, Sam's son, said about his father:

> ...all he was interested in was the kids swimming. He went to the pool at 6:00 a.m. and stayed until 10 p.m. as long as there was a kid in the water he'd stay there (Interview, May 4th,1983).

Tony Ross, another former swimmer, in speaking of the family noted:

---

[2] The names used in this dissertation to identify the members of the organization are fictitious.

> ...they were all very caring people and they loved to work with kids and they got great programs going for them (Interview, March 16th,1983).

As well as being "interested" and "caring" people the Davidsons were also competitive and with the growth of their programs they developed a desire to train faster swimmers. In turn they encouraged these swimmers to compete in meets against each other. It was the general opinion of all those people interviewed, from this era, that it was at one of these meets that the CASA(AS) was formed.

> The coaches got together in the place where you got a hot dog and a pop, there was a little room off that and they held their first meeting there(Tony Ross, Interview, March 16th,1983).

Nobody was completely sure of the purpose of the organization and no records of the meeting could be obtained, but it was generally agreed that the provincial association would serve to bring some order to the hosting of provincial championships. Whereas in the past clubs had held what were termed provincial championships, the pool superintendents, who also acted as coaches, only staged events in which their swimmers were sure of doing well. The Davidsons' idea in helping to form a provincial organization was that this body would now allocate a number of provincial championships to be hosted by each club. In this way no unnecessary advantage would be gained by a club sponsoring championships.

In addition to the Davidsons there were also several other key individuals who were involved with them in the initial stages of the CASA(AS). The first of these was a man named Wally Blackwell. Blackwell started his work in swimming with Bill Davidson at the Southside pool. Like the Davidsons, he had been raised in England and emigrated to Canada. He worked on the pools in summer and the rinks in winter. He was seen as a caring but very dominant person who was "strong on discipline". Ron Vickers, a former swimmer and coach, gave his opinion on Blackwell and his type of discipline:

> He was just. He was, I guess, what the law talks about a wise and prudent father. He treated kids like a lot of kids weren't used to being treated, with respect, by their parents, a lot of kids were but a lot of kids weren't, but he was fun. Like for instance, I remember Wally Blackwell up in the old 118th Street rink by the west end pool up there, thirty below one night and the shack after the game and some guy said shit and he was out in the snow and his stuff was with him. He had to get dressed in thirty below, finish changing at thirty below and go home. I can tell you it's a long time before anybody said shit in there again. There was a commonly accepted standard of behavior which is gone... You know those guys they coached, they looked after kids, they were just tremendous...(Interview, March 17th, 1983).

Another of the Davidsons' followers was a man named Dick Parker. Like the Davidsons and Blackwell, Parker was also of British descent. He started working with Sam Davidson at the west end pool. Parker was seen as being somewhat of a loner. He was a bachelor and spent much of his time on swimming. The general consensus was that Parker along with Burt James took on a lot of the administrative tasks of the CASA(AS). James was primarily associated with the southside club and Sandy McDonald, a former swimmer from that club, suggested that he was the first president of the

CASA(AS).

> I think Burt was the president, he liked that sort of thing, nobody else wanted to do it so he would come along every year and we would elect him, nobody else would run, he liked it though(Interview, March 30th, 1983).

It would seem then that the CASA(AS) was formed sometime in the late 1920's, with the general consensus of opinion from those people interviewed being that it was probably around 1927/28. The key people in the association were a family of a father and two sons who ran Edmonton's three pools. These people also attracted the help of certain other key individuals who helped run the affairs of the association.

In an attempt to examine the formation of the CASA(AS) we may consider Downs'(1967) work on bureaucracy and suggest that the Davidsons may be what he has termed zealots. Downs sees these type of people as often being responsible for the formation of bureaucratic organizations. He points out that:

> In a vast majority of cases, a bureau starts as the result of aggressive agitation and action by a small group of zealots who have a specific idea they want to put into practice on a large scale(1966:5).

In this case the bureau was to be the CASA(AS), the zealots that Downs refers to were the Davidson family and their specific idea related to improving and controlling competitive swimming in the province of Alberta. Downs(1967:6) also notes that zealots qualify as charismatic leaders. Charisma is one of the key concepts in the sociology of Max Weber. It refers to "a certain quality of an individual's personality by virtue of which he/she is set apart from ordinary humans and treated as endowed or gifted with exceptional powers or qualities(Weber,1968:48). This type of relationship is often found to exist between a prophet and his/her disciples, for example, Joseph Smith and the Mormons or between a leader, like Adolph Hitler and his followers. In the case of the Davidsons, it may be something of an overstatement to suggest that the quality they possessed can be compared to the charisma of either Smith or Hitler. However, if we consider that charisma is an ideal type it seems reasonable to suggest that the Davidsons showed characteristics of this special quality.

The charisma ascribed to a leader or leaders is dependent, for its legitimation, on its recognition by those who are subject to its authority. As Weber points out:

> This basis lies rather in the conception that it is the duty of those who have been called to a charismatic mission to recognize its quality and to act accordingly. Psychologically this 'recognition' is a matter of complete personal devotion to the possessor of the quality, arising out of enthusiasm, or of despair and hope(1947:359).

In the case of the Davidsons it is undoubtedly their enthusiasm, as opposed to 'despair and hope' that pulled people to them. Tony Ross, a former swimmer of Sam Davidsons' noted:

> Sam was the sort of person who would have the sort of enthusiasm, a personality that makes people work, the two of them [Sam and Bill] were very much the same(Interview, March 16th, 1983).

George Johnson, another swimmer, commented:

> Bill Davidson had all the patience in the world but he was an excitable, enthusiastic type...when you did good, he felt good you know but he was always

> nice and a very good coach (Interview, March 22nd, 1983).

The people that are pulled to the charismatic leader or leaders Downs has termed disciples. In the case of the Davidsons these "disciples" were people like Wally Blackwell, Dick Parker and Burt James. It is important to note that it was these people who were the ones who were to assume some of the key administrative roles in the CASA(AS). Downs(1967:109) has suggested that rarely are these key positions, which form the bureaucracy, filled by zealots, in as much as these people usually have a narrow interest in their own particular cause and are not interested in administrative matters. Rather, as was the case with the CASA(AS), these roles are more frequently filled by disciples. Jack Davidson discussing his father, Sam, notes this lack of desire to become involved in administration:

> I don't really think he was involved in the administration. His interests wouldn't lie on any sort of lines like that. He just wanted to work with the kids. To me he was just concerned with the kids(Interview, May 4th, 1983).

It may be seen, then, that the CASA(AS) was formed by a group of people who possessed a certain quality. Downs termed these type of people zealots, whereas Weber labelled the quality charisma. The quality is legitimized by the fact that the followers of these charismatic leaders recognize this quality. The followers often fill administrative roles in the organization as the zealots or charismatic leaders do not gravitate to these types of positions.

In the case of the CASA(AS) we can legitimately suggest that to a large extent members of the swimming community recognized the existence of some special quality in the Davidsons and they were drawn to them by this quality. As Sandy McDonald pointed out:

> they really were leaders. They were so enthusiastic you felt you wanted to get involved with them and help(Interview,March 30,1983)

It must be recognized, however, that as well as being drawn by the enthusiasm of the Davidsons the early members of the CASA(AS) were also drawn to the cause of promoting swimming. As it is difficult to assess whether or not the early followers were drawn to Joseph Smith's charisma or to the ideology of Mormonism so, too, it is difficult to assess whether the qualities of the Davidsons or the cause of promoting swimming attracted the early members of the CASA(AS).

One other factor that we must consider in terms of the formation of the CASA(AS)is the social environment in which the organization emerged. Although there are probably several factors that had a bearing on the creation of this organization two seem particularly relevant. First is the social composition of the population of the province and the second is changing technology. In terms of the former, between 1911 and 1931 Alberta's population increased from approximately 350,000 to nearly 750,000. Many of the people who came to the province had European, particularly British, backgrounds and undoubtedly these people brought with them their passion for the sports of their homeland, primary among these was swimming. It is notable that five of the six people previously mentioned as key figures in the formation of the CASA(AS) had British backgrounds and some had been involved in swimming in their homeland. Although others obviously played a role it would seem fair to suggest that these new immigrants were a key factor in the formation of the association.

The second point, changing technology, relates to the building of swimming pools or baths as they were often known then. While prior to the building of these facilities it would seem fair to suggest that with Alberta's many lakes and rivers swimming was not unknown. The pools did several things which would ultimately lead to the formation of the CASA(AS). First they provided a central area for people to meet and swim and talk about swimming. Secondly, they provided a safer and cleaner environment for swimming thus encouraging more people to get involved in the sport. Third, with the advent of swimming pools there was also a need to employ someone to look after these pools and it was logical to employ people like the Davidsons who had some degree of expertise in the sport. With this expertise more people were taught to swim and the technical aspects of swimming started to improve. The final aspect of the development of swimming pools that probably contributed to the formation of the CASA(AS) was the fact that these pools, at least the three outdoor pools, were usually of a standard length. With this standardization it became easier for people from different pools to compare times and the competitive element of the sport started to grow. As a result of this growth each pool started to hold "provincial championships" and, as previously noted, these championships were usually in events in which the particular club was strong. The formation of the CASA(AS) was in part to bring some control to the hosting of these events.

The Early Years of the CASA(AS): The Routinization of Charisma (1928-1939)

In its formative years (1928-33) the CASA(AS) operated under what Weber termed charismatic domination, i.e., the leadership the Davidsons acquired through this special quality of theirs that enthused people about swimming. Mouzelis(1969:10) points out the operation and administration of an organization under this type of regime is very loose and unstable. Weber(1947:363-364) notes that "the social relationships directly involved are strictly personal". Since we are concerned with the subsequent bureaucratization of the CASA(AS) it would appear beneficial, for comparison with later years, to examine how some of the phenomena outlined by Mouzelis and Weber were manifest in the organization. In regard to the administrative functions of the organization we find that as these become more bureaucratized we see certain characteristics becoming more pronounced. These characteristics include, division of labour, the qualifications of officers, written rules and regulations and as Weber has noted the social relations of members of the organization.

In the early days of the CASA(AS) the administrators of the organization had little in the way of a division of labour. Most of the executive members of the organization also worked as coaches and instructors, meet organizers, timers, starters and lifeguards. In addition the professional qualifications these people possessed were few. Most people attained their positions in the organization by their enthusiasm, not usually through any specialized training or experience. Even people like the Davidsons who did coach only did so for 4 or 5 months of the year. The rest of their time was spent running hockey rinks. Rules and regulations were also less prolific than they are now and even the swim meets run by the organization were fairly unstructured. There was very rarely any stroke designation in races and the races themselves were very informal. Tony Ross illustrated this with his recollections of the start of one provincial race:

> ...there was (sic) so many damned false starts and things. There was a fellow I finally won over and I can't remember where he was from. He would false start and I would false start and it just went on and on and it just got to be ridiculous. There was no limit to the number of false starts you could have. I recall we had six or seven of them(Interview, March 16th, 1983).

At the organizational level there were few records kept and decisions were made very informally. The relationships between the different members had not yet taken on the impersonality that characterizes a bureaucracy. As Tony Ross commented when asked about how the organization conducted its affairs he stated:

> We exchanged ideas, "well you do this and you do that, okay I will run it this time". There was no written communication. It was all done by word of mouth and the records, etc. were communicated like that. If there was an understanding it was settled with a handshake not by a minute(Interview, March 16th, 1983).

It may be suggested, then, that the early years of the CASA(AS) were very informal, the leadership was charismatic and the organizational dynamics were indicative of this type of domination. Charisma is, however, a transitory, unstable phenomenon and as we will see it is usually only present in the process of originating. If an organization is to survive over a period of years charismatic authority must become traditionalized or rationalized or some combination of both.

What happened in the early years of the CASA(AS) is that the nature of the authority on which the organization was founded, i.e., charismatic, would start to change. The change occurs through, what Weber has termed, the routinization of charisma. This process often starts with the death or loss, via other means, of the charismatic leader(s) and the problems of replacing this person. The replacement process is important to the organization's members as they usually build up a vested interest in the organization and should it fold this interest is lost. In the case of the CASA(AS) the problem of succession was to hit the organization in the first few years of its existence. Sam Davidson who, with his father and brother, had been instrumental in forming the CASA(AS), received an invitation to move to Fergus, Ontario. Sam was asked by the Fergus Brothers Company of Fergus to set up a swimming program for the people employed by them. He took the opportunity and in 1931 moved east. Also in this time period (1933) "Pop" Davidson was to die and another of the key people in the organization, Wally Blackwell, was to change jobs and consequently leave swimming.

As noted, the question of finding someone to replace the charismatic leader(s) is often problematic and it is sometimes here that an organization will fold. In the case of the CASA(AS) the situation was not as precarious as it might have been. Several factors helped to preserve the organization's stability and enabled it to continue to develop. First, in the short time of its existence the organization had developed two functions which were of importance for its membership. One of these was that it was able to sanction provincial championships, which were usually allocated to clubs who agreed to stage the various events. Through this process the CASA(AS) as the official body of the CASA in Alberta developed a monopolistic control over swimming. No other organization could sanction these championships and if the clubs wanted to host them they had to become an affiliate of the organization. This, in turn, meant that the clubs had to pay a fee to the CASA(AS). The second important role the CASA(AS) played was the issuing of amateur cards to swimmers. These were necessary if a swimmer wanted to compete in open competition and they also served the purpose of generating funds for the organization.

Downs had suggested that for an organization to survive it must demonstrate that the services it provides are worthwhile to its membership and the group in turn must possess the necessary resources to keep the organization alive. Such support is particularly important to a new organization such as the CASA(AS). It was partly through these two functions, the sanctioning of provincial championships and the issuing of amateur cards, that the organization was able to provide a necessary service to its membership and they in turn provide the resources, support and money, necessary to keep the organization alive.

In addition to providing these types of services, the organization has to develop an administrative structure. This structure in turn developed its own interests in preserving the organization. Blau explains:

> The attainment of organizational objectives generates a strain toward finding new objectives. To provide incentive for its members and to justify its existence, an organization has to adopt new goals as its old ones are realized(1965:243).

An example of this occurring in a voluntary organization is found in David Sills' work on the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. With the development of the Salk vaccine the organization achieved its goal. However, it did not fold but turned its attention to a new goal which concentrated its efforts on research into and the treatment of birth defects. In the CASA(AS) once the organization was able to achieve its goal of providing the ongoing services of sanctioning championships and providing amateur cards, it sought to expand its domain. New challenges were taken on such as sending representatives to Western Canadian and Canadian championships, maintaining a directory of provincial records and so on.

A second factor that helped ensure the continuance of the CASA(AS) was the fact that it had "no functional rivals". These are "other agencies whose social functions are competitive with those of the bureau [organization] itself"(Downs,1967:10). As the offical body of the CASA in Alberta it had monopolistic control over the running of swimming in the province. Provided it successfully handled the task it was charged with and the sport of swimming continued to maintain its status in Canada, the CASA(AS) was assured of retaining its position.

A final factor that may have also helped the CASA(AS) to achieve stability is the fact that one of the charismatic leaders, Sam Davidson, stayed involved for many years after the organization was formed. Also, a strong cadre of "disciples" had assumed the administrative functions of the CASA(AS) and this combined with the monopoly position the organization held allowed it to continue its existence.

We may see, then, that in its early years the CASA(AS) was able to perform certain functions that ensured the organization the support and economic resources necessary for its continued existence. Although its very early years were characterized by charismatic authority and its ensuing administrative structure, the organization would soon rapidly start to take on some of the characteristics of a traditional and a legal-rational bureaucracy. This trend is somewhat antithetical to Downs' point of view about organizations formed through the routinization of charisma. He(1967:9) suggests that they "...do not generally experience rapid growth until after the attraction of the charismatic leader has been transformed into organizational machinery". Further to this, he points out that in some religious organizations this may not be until long after the original leader's death. In the case of the CASA(AS) it would appear that this process of the routinization of charisma started shortly after the first few years of the organization's existence and prior to the replacement of the charismatic leader. In part this is due to the fact that the quality possessed by the Davidsons was not the "ideal type" charisma, i.e., the followers of these people were not totally committed to their personal qualities but also to the task of promoting swimming. As a result of this type of commitment, on the part of the followers, the organization was more stable than one founded on true charisma and consequently it did not follow traditional patterns. In part the early routinization of charisma was also due to the fact that once the original charismatic leaders, the Davidsons, had agitated to form the organization, they were then able to implement their plans about the allocation of provincial championships. With this mandate and the power to issue amateur cards the CASA(AS) had very quickly acquired a monopoly on competitive swimming in Alberta. As a result of this the leaders and administrators of the CASA(AS) did not have to be concerned about support for the organization or threats to its existence from competing groups. This position then enabled these people to concentrate their efforts on achieving other goals thereby stabilizing their interest in the organization. One way of doing this was to ensure that the CASA(AS) started to develop a more rational approach to its organizational responsibilities. Examples of this approach and how it developed may be found in the organization's documents from this era.

In the early 1930's the membership of the CASA(AS) had increased from the original nucleus of the three Edmonton clubs to eight clubs: four from Edmonton; the three originals, plus the Y.M.C.A. Dolphins; one from Sylvan Lake; and three clubs from Calgary. Although size is not a prerequisite for bureaucratization, Downs(1967:17) has suggested that bureaus inherently seek to expand. He offers several reasons for this that may have relevance for the CASA(AS). First, an organization that is growing rapidly has the ability to attract capable personnel and also it is more readily able to retain its existing personnel. Obviously for a young organization like the CASA(AS) this was a desirable state of affairs. One of the problems that frequently besets voluntary organizations of any type is the recruiting and retaining of members. If the CASA(AS) could be seen as a dynamic growing organization problems of this nature would be less likely to occur.

Downs' second point is that the expansion of an organization provides its leaders with increased power and prestige. Although this may not be relevant to all the executive of the CASA(AS), several interviewees pointed out that the first president, Burt James, liked the power that his position gave him. As one noted:

> Burt got off on that type of thing [being president]. He liked the power and being in charge. Nobody else really wanted the position(Sandy McDonald, Interview, March 30th, 1983).

Further support for this statement may be gained from the fact that Mr. James held this position for twelve years until 1940.

Downs'(1967:17) final point of relevance for the CASA(AS) is that "increasing size of an organization may also improve its performance ...and its chances for survival". As we have pointed out, survival was not a major concern for the CASA(AS); nevertheless, increased size could further entrench the monopolistic position it held. Also, increased size would create a larger membership and this in turn could help provide a better base for developing top class swimmers.

As well as size other factors provide evidence of the increasing bureaucratization of the CASA(AS). For example, the number of rules and regulations, concerning the organization, increased rapidly from the early years. This was evidenced by the fact that in 1934 a preliminary constitution was drawn up to govern the running of the organization. Already the group had an annual meeting, at which correspondence and reports were read, applications for records were received and motions were made and voted on. Also, after the early years of its existence the organization developed a functional division of labour. Whereas in the past one person had undertaken many jobs, the Minutes of the 1934 Annual General Meeting indicate that people had begun to specialize and they were now designated Judges and Referees, Starter, or Timekeepers.

As the CASA(AS) grew so did the number of organizations which constitute what Hall has termed its organizational set. In its early years of existence the provincial bodies only contact with other groups was with the clubs in the province and the CASA. By the mid-thirties the organization had increased its contacts to include the Canadian Olympic Association and the governing bodies of swimming for the three other western provinces. To be able to cope with these increased demands the administrative structure of the organization became more complex and more bureaucratic, i.e., there was an increasing number of rules, a more definitive division of labour and so on. Although this situation and the accompanying administrative changes did show some of the complexities and charactertistics of bureaucracy, it was a long way from the network structure that would eventually develop. Stinchcombe(1965:149) has pointed out that one of the problems new organizations have making contact with other groups is that these often involve social relations among strangers. In these types of situations one cannot rely on "the trust that is generated by long years of association". Indeed the CASA(AS)'s first contact with the governing bodies of the three other western provinces involved the setting up of a controlling body for a western Canada 1 mile Championship. The handling of this situation was so precarious that the association submitted deeds of trust outlining how they felt the event should be run.

As well as the changes already mentioned minutes of the A.G.M.'s from the mid and late 1930's also contain details of changes in rules and regulations which exemplify the increasing bureaucratization of the organization. For example, from 1935 to 1939 the number of categories for provincial records increased from 25 to 43. In 1939 the CASA(AS) discussed the legality of "the Keiffer turn", and in that same year a proposal was discussed that would allow male swimmers to wear trunks only!

The nature of the CASA(AS) had then changed from its first early years. The organization was now becoming more rationalized and was beginning to exhibit bureaucratic characteristics. It is important to note, however, that even with these changes the organization still operated, to a large extent, on a traditional bureaucratic basis. There were only a few indications of the legal-rational bureaucratic type structure into which it would later develop. Perhaps the best indication of the informality of the organization in developing good swimmers in the early days is given by Ron Vickers, a former coach, who noted:

> ...back in the thirties the organization had some pretty good swimmers but it was in the days when internationally, or in the Olympics, a good club swimmer could come along and if they had a lot of talent and a little bit of training we could win with them(Interview, March 17th, 1983).

Evidence of the reality of such a statement may be found in the fact that in the British Empire Games held in Sydney in 1938 Mary Gillespie (albeit a diver -- diving was part of the CASA(AS) then) was able to win a bronze medal despite the fact that Calgary only had "its Y.M.C.A. pool, one private pool which is closed and a few muddy yards of the Elbow River"(Calgary Albertan, February 10th, 1938).

In summary, in its early years the CASA(AS) exemplified an organization founded on charismatic authority. Charisma is, however, a transitory phenomenon and if this type of organization is to survive the authority structure must become traditionalized or rationalized. Usually this occurs after the death or departure of the charismatic leader(s). In the case of the CASA(AS) this was not so and both traditional and legal-rational bureaucratic characteristics started to emerge before this point in time. The emergence of these characteristics was attributed to the fact that the CASA(AS) had a monopolistic position in the province and as a result of this the efforts of its leaders could be directed towards stabilizing their interest in the organization rather than fighting to ensure its survival. As the organization grew the bureaucratic characteristics it exhibited increased, however, the organization still remained for the most part a relatively informal body.

The Years of Decline(1940-1948)

From its inception in 1928 until 1939 the CASA(AS) had experienced relatively good growth. This growth was reflected in both the number of affiliated swimmers and clubs and in the development of the organization as an effective body. From 1940 to 1954 the organization would no longer experience the progress it had made in its earlier years. In fact in the first half of this time span the organization would experience a period of decline. There are several factors that helped contribute to this decline but undoubtedly the most significant was the outbreak of war in 1939. Not only did the war redirect people's efforts to more serious matters than sport, it also depleted the CASA(AS)'s primary resource, swimmers. So much was this resource depleted that at the 1943 Annual General Meeting comment was made that "all clubs reported a shortage of senior swimmers due to military call up". By 1944 the situation had intensified so much that the following motion was made "That all senior men's swimming events in Alberta be called off for the duration of the war...". Although the motion was defeated it does reflect the impact the war had on the organization's programs.

In addition to the war there are several other factors that may have hindered the growth and/or aided the decline of the CASA(AS) in the first half of the 1940's. Downs has pointed out that a growing organization may run into problems:

> ...even though the bureau's original social function expanded greatly in relative importance, that function must still compete allocationally with others for social attention and resources. Therefore, as the accelerating bureau grows larger, it encounters more and more resistance to further relative growth of this function...(1967:12).

As previously stated the CASA(AS) held a monopolistic position and as such had no functional rivals, i.e., agencies whose social functions were in competition with it. The organization did, however, compete with other agencies, particularly sporting ones for "social attention and resources" especially human resources. The 1920's and 1930's had seen increased participation in sport (cf. Lapage, 1974) and consequently swimming was competing with other sport organizations to gain access to both attention and resources. It would seem fair to suggest that this could have influenced the organization's relative decline.

As well as competing for social attention and resources an organization can also "encounter the difficulty of continuing to produce impressive results as it grows larger and more unwieldy"(Downs,1967:12). If it is to continue to grow the organization must periodically develop these impressive results. In its early years the CASA(AS) had done just this, in large part due to the effort of one swimmer, Susan McDougall. Miss McDougall broke several Dominion records in the early thirties and in 1936 she competed in the Berlin Olympics. As well as Miss McDougall another Alberta swimmer, George Johnson, did very well in the Wrigley(Chewing Gum) sponsored Dominion mile and half-mile championships. In addition to swimmers the CASA(AS) also had several divers (diving was part of the CASA(AS) at this time) who kept it in the limelight. Joy Schultz and Tom Knight narrowly missed being selected to the 1928 Olympic team and, as previously pointed out, Mary Gillespie won a bronze medal in the 1938 British Empire Games. When asked if the CASA(AS) continued to enjoy this type of success after 1936 Dave Palmer, a former Edmonton coach, stated:

> we didn't get anybody like that again until the Jones[a well known swimming family] came along in the 60's(Interview, February 18th, 1983).

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to determine whether or not the organization's decline caused the lack of good swimmers to create "impressive results" or whether the lack of impressive results help contribute to the decline, what we can say is that the two phenomena appear to be related.

A final factor that may have contributed to increasing the rate of decline in the CASA(AS) is membership apathy. If the organization started to experience difficulty attracting people, as the previously mentioned motion to suspend Senior

Men's swimming suggests, this effort could have snowballed to present members and they may eventually have dropped out of the organization. Downs(1967:13) had referred to a similar situation in corporate type organizations, but the phenomena may be even more prevalent in voluntary organizations as individuals do not usually have to be involved in this type of agency to earn a living.

The decline that the CASA(AS) experienced in this time period is manifest in several ways in the organization's documents. First, the group's budget declined almost every year from a high of $189.07 in 1939 to $67.20 in 1947. Fewer items appeared on the budget and this may be taken to mean less organizational activity. Second, there was an obvious decline in the quality and content of the organization's minutes. Whereas in the 1930's the minutes of the Annual General Meeting had also included annual reports, financial reports, records lists and lists of affiliated clubs, the minutes of the 1940's were merely a brief description of the A.G.M. and an equally brief financial statement.

The third manifestation of organizational decline is the fact that few new provincial records were broken between 1941 and 1948. While this may have been due to a plateauing of the swimming times it is more likely a result of the decline in involvement in swimming.

Two final indications of the decline come from the minutes of the A.G.M.'s. In 1944 "regret was expressed that the one remaining Calgary club had failed to affiliate [with the CASA(AS)] for 1944 [CASA(AS), A.G.M., 1944]. In 1948 a motion was moved:

> that in view of the fact that the Alberta Section is entirely dependent on club affiliation fees and amateur card fees and that this income is not sufficient to provide the section with proper representation and development, that the Section decided that any club holding a Provincial Championship Gala contribute 10 percent of the profits to the provincial treasury[CASA(AS),A.G.M., 1948].

The motion passed unanimously. This was in sharp contrast to a motion 12 years prior when it was proposed and passed that the annual fees be reduced from $10 to $7.50.

In summary the period 1940-1948 was a sad one for the CASA(AS). Affected by the war and other factors the organization went into a period of decline.

Regaining Lost Ground (1949 -54)

Although the war ended in 1945 its effects on the CASA(AS) would be felt for the next several years. It was not until 1949 that the organization started to regain some of the ground it had lost in the last decade. A large influence in helping the organization to regain this lost ground was the fact that following the war many municipalities had started to build swimming pools. These swimming pools were, in large part, the "brainchild" of the many municipal recreation bodies that were created in this era.

During the war certain aspects of sport and recreation, like the CASA(AS), had suffered because people who were normally involved in these activities were now involved in military duty. Some sports had, nevertheless, benefitted from the war. For example, Eckert(1953:127-130) highlights the fact that both baseball and basketball, in Alberta, benefitted from an influx of American servicemen. The war also had the effect of drawing attention to the poor fitness levels of Canadians as many of them were rejected from military service on these grounds. As a direct result of the poor level of fitness the federal government promulgated the National Physical Fitness Act in 1944. This Act would eventually influence municipal involvement in sport and recreation. As Baka points out:

> This legislation, with its federal-provincial agreements, influenced developments in most of the provinces, Alberta included, although it operated under some controversy. Finally, municipal governments, encouraged to a degree by the two senior levels of government, began to establish more effective recreation programs in which sports activities were an integral component(1978:153).

In Alberta, Edmonton was the first city to move towards more effective programs when, on the 27th November, 1944, the passage of By-Law Number 1069 established the province's first municipally sponsored recreation commission(Eckert,1953:132). The commission experienced some preliminary jurisdictional problems but in September, 1947, John McLeod "was appointed chief supervisor to carry out the recommended changes and soon was able to report substantial improvements in the recreational program" (Eckert,1953:133). After Edmonton several other cities and municipalities would form recreation commissions. In 1947 Calgary established the

Calgary Recreation Commission, Lethbridge was established in 1948. Red Deer, Medicine Hat and several other municipalities followed shortly after. As a result of the establishment of these recreation commissions many new swimming pools were built and some of these would form clubs and become members of the CASA(AS). Evidence of this phenomenon is provided by the fact that from 1949 until 1953 representatives from clubs in Medicine Hat, Banff, Sylvan Lake, Lethbridge, Red Deer, Camrose, Brooks and Vegreville attended one or more of the CASA(AS) Annual General Meetings.

As a consequence of the large number of pools being built within the province the CASA(AS) assumed a new role. It started to make a conscious effort to recruit clubs to join. In 1953 "a suggestive(sic) mailing list of possible contact people who may be interested in promoting swimming in their respective home towns" was drawn up. By 1954 the suggestion was being made that zones be established to group the various clubs and potential clubs in the province and to hold championships. Twelve zones were outlined and approximately four clubs or potential clubs were allocated to each zone.

The creation of zones by the CASA(AS) would have had the effect of introducing another hierarchical level into the organizational structure. This hierarchy of offices is one of the characteristics of bureaucracy as presented by Weber and as this increases so the organization becomes more bureaucratized. Several studies have examined the hierarchical levels of organizations and it is generally accepted that these increase as size increases. Meyer and Brown, in their study of financial agencies, postulated a causal chain from the organizational environment to formalization to vertical differentiation. Such a procedure may be useful in explaining the CASA(AS)'s proposal regarding zones.

As a result of changes in the political environment in the municipalities of Alberta, pressure was brought to bear to form municipal recreation commissions. These commissions, as part of their mandate, initiated the building of local swimming pools. In many of these pools swimming clubs were formed and they affiliated with the CASA(AS). As a result the organization grew larger. Each of these clubs subsequently held meets for their own swimmers as well as interclub meets (cf. CASA(AS) Minutes 1949-54). These meets include a variety of events and distances and in an attempt to formalize them the CASA(AS) sent out a list of events. CASA(AS) correspondence from 1954 notes "the list is only suggestive(sic) and is designed to standardize the events and distances throughout the province". In order to encourage compliance with this standard list the CASA(AS) established the zones as a controlling device and this had the effect of introducing another level of vertical differentiation into the organizational structure. What we see, then, is that changes in the organizational environment, in this case the political situation, led eventually to the CASA(AS) having to standardize events and distances of swim meets and this in turn brought about a controlling body that introduced another hierarchical level to the organizational structure.

In addition to the increase in affiliated clubs one other factor would appear to have helped the CASA(AS) in the late 1940's, early 1950's; this was the presence of trained physical educators in the organization. The first undergraduate degree program in Physical Education was started at the University of Toronto in 1940(Cosentino and Howell,1971:45). Over the period of the next ten years six other universities, including the University of Alberta, instituted similar programs(Paton,1975). A natural area of involvement for graduates from these new programs was in amateur sport organizations, one of them being the CASA(AS). Several of the physical educators who were involved with the CASA(AS) were faculty members in the University of Alberta's degree program and others taught in the province's school system. These professionals were able to help the CASA(AS) not only through their training in the technical aspects of swimming and related areas, i.e., physiology, anatomy, biomechanics, etc. but they were also able to help through the contacts they had. These contacts were with other physical educators and sport minded people who could be encouraged to promote swimming and with people in government who could offer support for coaching clinics and other events. This was the first time in the history of the CASA(AS) that it had access to this amount of professional assistance.

Ron Vickers, a former swim coach and faculty member at the University of Alberta, contrasted the early 1950's with his days as a swimmer in the 1930's:

> The faculty here was developing as were other faculties across the country were, so you began to see people with specific training available. In my day for instance, when I was a student in Edmonton High Schools I think there was only one man in the city who had any physical education training _per se_(Interview, March 17th, 1983).

This specific training as Vickers refers to it may be seen as yet another manifestation of Weber's characteristics of a legal-rational bureaucracy. It is difficult to pinpoint an exact time when a particular characteristic emerged in the organization, in fact, it is not so much an emergence but an evolution. Nevertheless, as we have traced the development of the organization we can identify time periods in which there appears to be a predilection for certain bureaucratic characteristics.

In the 1930's we saw an increase in the rules and regulations of the organization and we also saw the start of a functional division of labour. Through the period of decline in the 1940's we saw few new bureaucratic characteristics develop, but with the growth which occurred in the 1950's we started to see the beginnings of a hierarchy of offices and the utilization of people with professional qualifications.

In summary the period 1949 until 1954 was one in which the CASA(AS) regained some of the ground it had lost in the 1940's. Two main factors helped regain this ground. First, the creation of municipal recreation commissions prompted the building of swimming pools. Subsequently swimming clubs were formed and these agencies joined the CASA(AS) thus boosting its numbers. Second, the organization gained the help of several trained physical educators who utilized their expertise to help the organization grow.

Years of Rapid Growth and Development (1955 - 1963)

By 1955 the CASA(AS) was established as a viable functioning organization. The next eight years were to set it on its way to becoming one of the most effective voluntary sport organizations in Canada. Three factors appear to have contributed to the rapid growth and development that the organization experienced. The first of these was the introduction of age group swimming from the United States, the second was the initial involvement and subsequent conscious recruitment of business oriented people onto the executive and the third was the building of indoor swimming pools.

The first contributing factor, the concept of age group swimming, crossed the border from the United States around 1954. Very simply, age group swimming was a means of developing young swimmers by having them compete in age category races. Previously the CASA(AS) had only two categories for both men and women. Seniors had to be over sixteen years of age and junior competitors had to be under sixteen years. Although this type of categorization did not exclude anyone from competing it was obviously very difficult for 10 and 12 year olds to compete successfully in the under 16 years of age junior category. At the 1955 A.G.M. of the CASA(AS) Ken Craddock reported that:

> The 1954 executive authorized the addition of another category of competition to develop swimmers. This category was "Juvenile" and the age decided was "fourteen years and under on the day of the event". The CASA also decided to urge all clubs conducting local events to adopt standardized terminology for the following age categories; Midgets -- Twelve years and under on the day of the event, Bantams -- Ten years and under on the day of the event(CASA(AS) Newsletter, May 9th, 1955, p.2).

The move was to have a profound effect on the future of swimming and the CASA(AS). As previously pointed out by 1955 the organization had started to grow. The development of municipal swimming pools helped increase the number of clubs which were members of the organization. In turn, the advent of age group swimming, chronologically the first of the three factors to influence swimming, helped increase the number of members in these clubs. With this increase the CASA(AS) had to start to provide more meets for people to compete in. Jack Billingsley, a former president of the CASA(AS), pointed out:

> ...you've got to have the competitors to attend the meets but then if you try to develop only competitors they tend to say well there is no meet...you've got to get the competitors first then the meets(Interview, February 23rd, 1983).

The ramifications of this increased number of meets were several. More meets meant more timers, judges, starters, etc. and this in turn meant more organization for the CASA(AS). In the past the task of running a swim meet was undertaken by the club coach and a few dedicated individuals. The increasing number of meets brought about by age group swimming demanded more human resources. The obvious place to turn for these resources was to the parents of the swimmers. Jim Franchuk, a former competitor and coach, recounted how parents were recruited into his club:

> I remember when we started the southside parents group. Bob Kromm [the coach] stepped out and said "fine, you people are all going home and anybody that doesn't come over that hill with a parent in tow for this particular meet, you're no longer swimming for the southside swim club!" So every single kid came down with one parent in tow under the demand of the coach(Interview, March 10th, 1983).

The parents who were "recruited" into the organization were for the most part largely ignorant of the technical aspects of swimming and as a result had to receive some type of training to undertake their various tasks. The responsibility for this training fell upon the CASA(AS). In 1955 an initial venture into this area was manifest in the creation of a checklist of "Suggestions for the Improvement of the Conduct of Swimming Meets". This type of documentation was used to supplement the rules and regulations in the CASA National Handbook. Undoubtedly this type of approach did help improve the quality of swim meets but as former CASA(AS) President Jack Billingsley points out:

> you could have two people reading the same thing and one would assume it one way and one would assume another...So we tried to standardize it, people took clinics and then we had tests for everyone of the official positions. In fact we set up a complete listing of what they had to do and how they were to do it(Interview, February 23rd, 1983).

Standardized clinics and tests were introduced into the association around 1959. The general opinion of the interviewees was that they greatly helped improve the running of swim meets. In fact so accepted were these tests that due to the efforts of Billingsley who would eventually become CASA President the tests were implemented at a national level.

As age group swimming brought about the demand for more meets, coaches and parents began to look not only to provincial competition but also to meets outside the province. In 1954 a small group of Alberta athletes from the southside swim club travelled to Kelowna to the annual Kelowna Regatta. In the beginning there were only 4 or 5 athletes who travelled by car with a coach. It appeared to other coaches that these athletes benefitted from their experience and they concluded that the trip would be worthwhile for more swimmers. As one coach, Jim Franchuk, noted:

> We saw the benefit of taking entire clubs to it...but it got beyond a club coach being able to do this sort of thing so we developed very strong parent organizations within the clubs. Now as soon as you've got the parent organizations involved then some of those parents went on to take positions with the Alberta Section and we went from the volunteer coach also being the administrator to more

> professional people stepping in and taking over the administration of the sport(Interview, March 10th, 1983).

It can be seen, then, that the inception of age group swimming created a demand for more swim meets. The role of organizing, administering these meets and transporting swimmers to them fell upon the athletes' parents. Some of these parents became heavily involved in the organization. As Jack Billingsley, a former President of the CASA(AS) and father of a competitive swimmer, noted:

> I started going to their meetings so I could learn a little more about it. I wanted to work on the administration side not the coaching side...I grew to love the sport and there was lots of work to do that hadn't been completed(Interview, February 23rd, 1983).

The larger number of meets the CASA(AS) was becoming involved in was to have several ramifications for the organization. For example Downs(1967:18) has pointed out that "bureaus learn to perform given tasks better with experience". When the CASA(AS) started to run more swim meets the quality started to improve. As Joe Mallini (Interview, March 1st, 1983) pointed out"...you do anything often enough and you've got to get better at it and our meets did". As the organization improves its efficiency at the tasks (running swim meets), it is also able:

> to generate additional productive capacity...without any added input of resources. The added capacity can be utilized by producing more of the same services...or by devoting it to new functions... (Downs, 1967:18).

In the case of the CASA(AS) the additional capacity it gained through its increased efficiency at swim meets was directed to "more of the same services", i.e., more swim meets. Also, new functions were assumed by the association. These included the organization and hosting of clinics and workshops, active representation on the national governing body, redrafting of the constitution and many others.

Another ramification of the increase in swim meets and its subsequent consequences was the establishment of a more formalized rule system. Downs(1967:18) points out that as bureaus become more established:

> they tend to develop more formalized rule systems governing more and more of the possible situations they are likely to encounter. The passage of time exposes the bureau to a wide variety of situations, and it learns how to deal with most of them more effectively than it did in its youth. The desire for organizational memory of this experience causes the bureau's officials to develop more and more elaborate rules.

Manifestations of this more formalized system of rules in the CASA(AS) is evidenced by time standards for competitions, an increase in the number of stroke and turn judges required at each meet, limitations on the length of executive positions, revision of eligibility and forfeit rules, etc.

A further ramification of the development of the CASA(AS) was a broadening of the scope of its social functions. When it started the CASA(AS)'s main function was to allocate provincial championships and distribute amateur cards. As the organization grew the relative importance of these social functions declined and new ones were taken on. These included sending teams to national and interprovincial meets, sanctioning domestic meets, distributing technical material, etc. Although the organization still retained its original functions the addition of others also helped to stabilize the organization since it now had a greater range of services to offer its clientele.

Another ramification of more complex swim meets was that the coaches could no longer run these events on their own, so what we started to see was a division in the technical and administrative functions of the organization. To cope with the administration of these meets the CASA(AS)'s administrative body became larger and it took on new responsibilities. For example between 1955 and 1963 the number of executive members increased from four to ten. The roles that some of these people played were to chair the various committees that were established. For instance in 1955 a Records Committee was formed to handle the large number of requests for records that came with age group swimming. Other committees that were formed included "a newsletter committee" and "a trophies, medals and ribbons committee". The number of CASA(AS) executive meetings increased and they were no longer held in conjunction with a swim meet, another factor which served to underscore the division of technical and administrative roles. This increasing formalization of the CASA(AS) was, in large part, a consequence of the role that parents began to play in the organization. However, not every parent was equally as involved. As the organization became more formal there occurred a definite division between its technical and administrative functions. The type of people who gravitated towards and who were successful in these administrative functions were, in the main, business people. These were the type of people who, because of their experience in the business world, were able to see organizational problems in a rational manner and were able to respond to these problems in a way that was beneficial to the organization. Evidence of this type of approach is found in increased allocation of responsibilities to committees and the increased "credentialism" associated with being an official at a swimming meet. With a more "business like" approach to running the organization, the CASA(AS) began to practice a form of social closure, i.e., "the process by which social collectives seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to rewards and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles(Parkin,1974:3). While this may have, at first, been an unconscious action it soon developed into a conscious attempt to recruit individuals with business and professional skills. John Hamilton, at one time president of the CASA(AS), recounted how he went about doing this:

> ...my direction to each of the clubs was "I want you to have a list of the people of management calibre, that is owner-operated businesses, manager of a department or manager of something, someone who is in a position of responsibility for finance and production..." (Interview, March 3rd, 1983).

When asked why he felt this type of recruitment was necessary Hamilton pointed out:

> You need someone who is going to take the lead and

> do things and step out and you can get a lot of people to do things who are not of that calibre, but they will do mundane things, the chores that you require, keeping records, times, registration of athletes, and this sort of thing. But to step out and get things done on a scale where you want thinking done, is it possible? What finances will it take? Who are the people I put into place to make it work? For that type of person you have to actually go out and seek them like corporations do (Interview, March 3rd, 1983).

While Hamilton's rationale for this type of division of labour has some merit in terms of economic and productivity its social significance for the administration of amateur sport is obvious. As Beamish has pointed out:

> the lives of the majority of Canadian -- an overwhelming majority - involve non-creative and non-administrative mediation in their workplace. Only a very small segment of the population has daily involvement with the skills, knowledges and powers that are required and utilized in hierarchically controlled organizations(1978:17-18).

Since the organization of the CASA(AS) was rapidly assuming the characteristics of a hierarchically controlled organization it would seem feasible to suggest that positions in its administrative structure were being restricted to a narrow stratum of people who obtained these prerequisite skills in their place of work. A more detailed analysis of the consequences of this type of administrative structure will be presented later in this chapter in the section entitled "Class Inequality in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section".

The final factor that was to influence the development of swimming in the period 1955 to 1963 was the rapid growth of indoor swimming pools. In part this growth was due to technological advances which made the building of these type of pools more feasible and, in part, the involvement of the provincial government in grant programs designed to help municipalities build facilities. In 1960-61 the Provincial Department of Public Works instigated a series of grants to municipalities for the building of swimming pools (Baka,1978:173). Two years later a program designed to assist communities in building recreation facilities was announced:

> The five year plan had $3,801,260 allocated to it and was set up so that communities with over 100 population, except Edmonton and Calgary, were eligible to receive, upon approved application, $10 per capita for the construction of recreation facilities(Baka,1978:173-174).

As a result of these factors and strong lobbies by the CASA(AS) to municipal governments the number of indoor pools increased rapidly. In the past there had been one or two indoor pools in the province. These were usually the property of the YMCA/YWCA's and were little more than "overgrown bathtubs". Consequently, they were unsuitable for large competitions and in addition they were heavily used by the "Y's" for their own programs. The building of indoor pools in Alberta moved swimming from a 4/5 month a year sport to a year round sport. The first covered pool to be built in Alberta, with the exception of the "Y's", was the Victoria Composite High School Pool which was opened in 1959. In the following years the CASA(AS), mainly through its president Jack Billingsley, lobbied many municipalities to build enclosed pools or to cover existing outdoor pools.

He recounted how he did this:

> I travelled like mad every weekend, talking to people. We were after indoor pools so we approached the city people and tried to convince them we needed an indoor pool to get our competitors up to the standards we wanted them at...we said we need an indoor pool we can fill it for you [with swimmers] and we did...we had to prove to the city how much more use an indoor pool would get than an outdoor pool...we had to come up with numbers, competitors that would use it and the money they could generate(Interview, February 23rd, 1983).

Through the efforts of Billingsley and his colleagues many municipalities built indoor pools or covered existing pools so much so that "by 1967 Alberta had more indoor pools per capita than anybody in North America(Joe Mallini, Interview, March 1st, 1983).

The building of indoor pools added greatly to the growth of swimming in Alberta. As noted it made the sport a year round one so more competitions could be held. It also increased the quality of swimmers as they could train all year round. As well as the obvious benefits to swimming the creation of indoor pools had other ramifications. More competitions could be held but these needed starters, timers, etc. and these positions had to be filled by parents. Also the clubs that had access to indoor pools and could train year round were obviously going to produce better swimmers than those clubs that could only train 4 or 5 months of the year in an outdoor pool. As a consequence of this the CASA(AS) was faced with dividing competition between these groups. These clubs which only had outdoor pools came to be known as summer clubs and those which had indoor pools were termed winter clubs. While this type of arrangement had some advantages in ensuring equality of competition within these groups it also had several negative consequences. For example, the municipalities which were able to financially support an indoor pool became the ones with the best swim teams. Since these municipalities were usually the larger ones swimming became concentrated in the larger urban areas. Rural swimmers who wished to attain a higher level of performance were faced with either travelling to a larger urban center to train or relocating to one of the centers. Obviously this type of undertaking is problematic for a large segment of the population particularly those from the lower socioeconomic levels and consequently opportunities to become a top level swimmer were further restricted.

In summary the period 1955 to 1963 was one of rapid growth for the CASA(AS). Three factors were the primary contributors to this growth: the introduction into Canada of age group swimming; the initial involvement and subsequent conscious recruitment of business oriented people; and the development of indoor swimming pools. As a result of the influence of these three factors the organization was able to increase its size, efficiency and productivity. It also showed increasing evidence of the characteristics of a legal-rational bureaucracy. Manifestations of this tendency were found in a more formalized system of rules, a greater division of labour, and an emphasis on the importance of professional qualifications. As with the development of bureaucracy there were obvious benefits to the CASA(AS) when it took this course. However, it should be noted that there were also negative consequences of this trend. The most obvious of these was limiting the availability of administrative positions in the organization to those individuals who were able to gain the prerequisite skills through their place of employment and the concentrating of the major swim clubs into the larger urban areas.

Incorporation to Professional Staff(1963-1973)

From the mid 1950's the CASA(AS) had grown rapidly and the organization had become more formalized. One of the consequences of this increased formalization was a large increase in association expenses. Evidence of this is provided in the 1954 and 1963 organizational budgets. In 1954 total expenditures were $247.91. By 1963 these costs had risen to $3,854.62. Part of the cost was a result of the fact that there was a larger number of administrators associated with the organization and the increased activities the CASA(AS) had taken on required them to meet more frequently. These meetings required the hiring of a hotel room or some other suitable venue and in some cases travel expenses were paid. Also more and larger provincial teams were being sent to National Championships and other large meets. These teams required coaches and chaperones and their expenses had to be paid. CASA(AS) was now sending delegates to national meetings and again this incurred expenses. Finally, the increased size of the organization meant some increased revenue but it also meant increased correspondence and administrative costs.

To meet the rising costs it faced the CASA(AS) had to increase the revenue it generated. In 1963 the organization's main sources of income were from the sale of amateur cards, affiliation fees and provincial championships. The Provincial and Federal governments also made small contributions to the organization (CASA Financial Statement, 1963). This money was mainly used for the sponsorship of coaching, officiating and participant clinics, an aspect of the CASA(AS) that had grown rapidly since 1955.

In order to increase their revenue the CASA(AS) had to raise funds. There were several ways to do this but to become involved the organization had to have some formal legal status. In the past the organization was merely a collection of interested individuals. Although recognized as the official arm of the CASA in Alberta, the CASA(AS) had no legal status other than this. To be eligible to participate in certain fund raising ventures the organization had to be incorporated under the provincial government Societies Act. At the CASA(AS) A.G.M. on March 17th, 1963 such a motion was made and accepted. Along with the application for incorporation a copy of the constitution and by-laws had to be sent. The organization was legally incorporated on the

23rd December, 1963. Although there were several advantages to the CASA(AS) becoming incorporated the main one was financial. Jack Billingsley emphasized this when he noted:

> ...it was purely financial. We wanted to start into swim-a-thons and things like that and we had to be incorporated to do them (Interview, February 23rd, 1983).

In addition to legalizing certain fund raising ventures the incorporation of the CASA(AS) may be seen as another step in its bureaucratization. Although the organization had previously operated under a set of rules and regulations these gained their credibility from the acceptance they received from the membership. Once incorporated these rules became the legal operating guidelines for the organization. As such they were accepted by the provincial government. Major changes in these rules had to be approved by a two-thirds majority of the membership and by the Companies Branch of the provincial government.

As well as making the rules of the organization legal, incorporation also helped move the CASA(AS) closer to fulfilling one of the characteristics of a legal-rational bureaucracy, i.e., "the staff members are personally free, observing only the impersonal duties of their offices" (Albrow,1970:44). Prior to incorporation members of an organization are liable to be sued for any debts the organization incurs. With incorporation the liability of the members is limited to their involvement in the organization.

Two other advantages of incorporation to the CASA(AS) were that i) the organization became perpetual its existence was not dependent on the life-span of its members and ii) it allowed it to apply to granting agencies as many of these require a group to be incorporated before they will allocate funds. This latter factor would be particularly important to the CASA(AS) in the coming years.

Around the time the CASA(AS) was becoming incorporated another important event in the development of the organization was taking place. This was the creation of an Edmonton and Calgary Swimming Association under the control of the Alberta Section. Originally confined to the province's two major cities these organizations were the forerunners of the present day Northern and Southern Regions. As was the case with the CASA(AS) no exact date for the two regions could be found, although it was generally agreed that the Edmonton Association formed around 1963 and the Calgary group a year or two later. The reason for the formation of the two associations was essentially a coordinating function. As the CASA(AS) grew in size it became harder for it to coordinate the efforts of its member clubs. Jim Franchuk, the driving force behind the formation of the Edmonton Association and its first president, points out the reasons for the organization's formation:

> We felt that there had to be a coordinating body to coordinate our local meets. We could also do some joint planning about indoor training programs...the same with travel we would organize for let's say the Kelowna Regatta, we [the Edmonton clubs] would go through the Edmonton Swimming Association and organize as to where we were going to stay and we would travel together. There were several things we could do together. We could joint plan for the provincial championships either to host them or to

> travel together to them...every pool couldn't get a full set of stop watches so there was a use for a coordinating body (Interview, March 10th, 1983).

What we may suggest was happening, then, was that as the CASA(AS) grew larger certain of its official social functions became less important. For example, in its early days the organization had acted as a coordinating body for member clubs; as more clubs emerged and their social functions increased, the CASA(AS) was unable to maintain this role. The problem was particularly prevalent in Edmonton and Calgary where there were a large number of clubs. The discrepancy between what the CASA(AS) originally did and what it could now do, created what Downs(1967:191) has termed a performance gap, i.e., the difference between what the organization is doing and what it ought to be doing. Downs suggests four reasons for the creation of a performance gap, two of which have some relevance for this study. First, internal turnover of personnel, a frequent occurrence in a voluntary organization, can cause changes in the organization's behavior. Since the people who control power in the organization would not necessarily have the same priorities as those who preceded them a gap can exist in what some people feel the organization ought to do and what it actually does. Second, Downs suggests internal technical changes which bring about new ways of performing tasks, for example, running swim meets, can cause changes in the organization's behavior. These changes for the CASA(AS) may have been an increased emphasis on national and international level competition and consequently its coordinating function for the clubs was a lower priority. A final factor which Downs does not acknowledge but which was important in the creation of a "performance gap" in the CASA(AS) was the increasing size of the organization. As it grew bigger its social functions grew so that they were more all encompassing in scope. However the average club swimmer or official still saw the organization's role to assist their development. As a result of this discrepancy the aforementioned performance gap arises.

As well as suggesting causes of performance gaps Downs also suggests ways in which organizations can react to performance gaps. One explanation which may have merit relative to the creation of the Edmonton and Calgary Swimming Associations is that:

> The bureau can redefine its social functions so they no longer include the particular actions the agents in its power setting believe it should carry out. This is usually accompanied by the formation of another bureau to discharge those actions(1967:193).

In the case of the CASA(AS) the social functions of club coordination in the two large urban centers was reallocated to another bureau or more exactly a sub-bureau of the CASA(AS). The creation of the two city associations also had the effect of creating another level in the organizational hierarchy, a step which further exemplifies its increasing bureaucratization.

Following incorporation and the formation of the Edmonton and Calgary Association the CASA(AS) continued to grow. By 1966, twenty-eight clubs were affiliated with the organization. President Ron Vickers, in his annual report, noted that:

> The past year has been a rewarding one in terms of continued improvement in performance of Alberta swimmers.
>
> Among indications were the four Albertans chosen to the Can-Am Dual meet and the strong contingent of twenty-two that represented the section at the Nationals. Provincial records continue to improve and at one stage this year records chairman, Helen Jones, reported to me that Section swimmers hold a total of 47 Canadian records. Sandy Jones of Edmonton Southside became the first Albertan to qualify for a gold standard and was soon followed by Jack Jones, Denise Schmidt, Robert Hastings and Ruth Wood.
>
> Robert Hastings of Lethbridge represented Canada at the British Empire and Commonwealth Games in Jamaica, the first time in several decades that an Albertan has done so. His performance there indicates that he will very likely be a regular on Canadian teams for some time [CASA(AS) President's Report, 1966].

With the growth of the CASA(AS) its administrative responsibilities had been gradually taken over by a strong cadre of business and professional people. These people although very skilled in their executive functions often lacked technical expertise in swimming. This posed a problem for the organization. As Jack Billingsley points out:

> The administrators were essentially picking the athletes when the coaches should have been (Interview, February 23rd, 1983).

Moreover administrators were being asked to make decisions on technical matters in which they had little or no expertise. What had happened with the growth of the CASA(AS) was that the gap between the administrative and technical functions of the organization initially started in 1955 had widened. This meant that one of the social functions of the organization could not be handled by the people in power in the CASA(AS). When professional and business oriented administrators originally started to assume control of the organization, the problem was not as great because there was still close liaison between administrators and technical people, and the social significance of the technical aspects of the sport was not as great. But as the organization grew the gap widened and the social significance of the technical aspects of the sport became greater, i.e., in the past the organization had mainly been concerned with provincial competition, now its technical function was more national/ international in scope. To counteract this widening gap the CASA(AS) had to find some way to handle the organization's technical functions. Turning again to the work of Downs(1967:221) he suggests that two approaches may be taken to this problem i) the functions may be assigned to an existing bureau or ii) a new bureau may be created. In the case of the CASA(AS) the latter course was chosen and a new bureau or again perhaps more accurately a sub-bureau of the CASA(AS) was formed, the Alberta Coaches Council. John Hamilton explained the rationale for the formation of this new bureau:

> ...in amateur sport I think you must clearly define the zone or field of operation of the parent administrator that you introduce into the sport through getting their kids involved. These people run the clubs, they become the presidents, they account for the dollars and cents, but I must say that they are so busy with that they don't have the time to follow the state of the art. Whereas a coach

> would understand the technicalities of the sport, the new improvements, how to make your team go faster in the water, that is a coach's responsibility. I think that because they had a forum where they could exchange ideas and get to know one another it was invaluable to Alberta to have the Coaches Council as a technical advisory group (Interview, March 3rd, 83).

With the formation of the Alberta Coaches Council the CASA(AS) was again exemplifying its move to a more bureaucratic structure. Manifestations of this tendency are found in the fact that a declared division of the administrative and technical functions of the organization more clearly defined the roles of the officers of the organization. Also this division served to underscore the emphasis on the professional qualifications that were needed to attain one of the organization's executive positions.

The CASA(AS) continued to grow throughout the late 1960's and early 1970's. Both the Edmonton and Calgary Swimming Associations expanded their programs and shortly after their formation changed names to the Northern and Southern regions of the Alberta Section, respectively an indication of their expanded activities. The Alberta Coaches Council also grew and expanded its activities in the technical domain of the CASA(AS). Programs that reflected the growth of the organization included an increase in provincial team meets, eg. Alta-B.C., Alta-Montana, Tri-Prairie Provinces; an increased number of Albertans representing Canada at Olympic, Empire and Commonwealth Games and other International Competition; and a steady growth in the number and quality of provincial swim programs.

In the early 1970's several changes were to take place in sport in Canada that would ultimately affect the CASA(AS). In 1968 Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced the creation of a task force to study sport. The Report of the Task Force on Sport for Canadians was published in 1969 and from it developed a number of "spinoff organizations". One of these, established in 1970, was the National Sport and Recreation Center at 333 River Road, Ottawa. The Center was originally developed to provide office space and secretarial help for the national sport governing bodies. The success of this federal initiative caused several provincial governments to institute similar programs and in Alberta in 1973 the Percy Page Centre for Provincial Recreation Associations was opened in St. Albert.

> Converted from a former school building, this centre was turned into a home for provincial sport and recreation associations. Services made available included: office space for associations at a cost of $1.00/year, provision for meeting rooms and some technical assistance(e.g. printing services)(Baka,1978:207).

One of the first provincial sport organizations to take advantage of the Percy Page Centre was the CASA(AS) which in August 1973 acquired office space in the building and employed Julie Dawson as a part-time executive director. The concept of an executive director was another offshoot of the Task Force Report on Sport whereby up to $12,000 was made available to national sport governing bodies to hire such a person. Like the provision of office space this concept was also initiated by some provincial governments. The Alberta government was not one of these and Dawson's salary was underwritten by the CASA(AS).

Dawson was selected for the job through her involvement in swimming, and although her job was initially only for a few hours a day, "to be an answering service and answer questions via the telephone"(Jones, Interview, February 17th, 1983), the time commitment gradually increased. As Dawson explained:

> I met John Hamilton through my adult teaching at Jasper Place. He was also teaching an adult program there and when they decided to open up the place at the Percy Page Centre, John phoned me and asked me if I would be interested in working for the CASA(AS) as a paid employee but just on a very part-time basis, probably a couple of hours a week which really multiplied and multiplied and it came to be two or three days a week and then it slowly developed into a full week(Interview, March 3rd, 1983).

There were obvious advantages to the organization in hiring Dawson, the main one being that she was able to act as a central clearing office for the organization, and since all information went through her she greatly improved communication. As John Hamilton, the president of the CASA(AS) at that time, and the person who hired Dawson explained:

> because she was part-time that limited the number of things she could do but she did take the minutes and produce them on time at our meetings otherwise it was taken home and done by a volunteer who may have had to do the laundry that day or may have had to go to work that day and couldn't get the minutes out for a week or whatever so that speeded up the type of production. It became a central mailing office...and it made communications better (Interview, March 3rd, 1983).

The concept of a paid person involved in a voluntary organization is somewhat antithetical to the concept of volunteerism. Notwithstanding, it would appear that in the life cycle of any voluntary group there is a point at which the social functions of that group and their administration become so complex that they cannot be undertaken by volunteers no matter how dedicated or efficient they are. The establishment of an office with paid staff has the effect of providing some degree of stability for the organization. It also fulfills another of Albrow's criteria for bureaucratization in that the officials of the organization (at least one in this case) have "a money salary".

In regard to the payment of a salary to professional help this may also pose a problem for the organization as they must find the monetary resources to pay this salary. In the case of the CASA(AS) a comparison of 1973 and 1974 budgets indicates these additional resources were obtained, in part, from an increased fund raising drive, mainly through the Swimathon program and from a Provincial Matching Grant of $3,000.00. Baka(1968:198) notes that the grant "was basically used for different types of administrative functions related to the organization".

Another event, in addition to the hiring of professional help for the organization which took place in Fall 1973, was that two of the association's member clubs announced the hiring of a full-time professional coach. The

CASA(AS) President's Report for 1974 noted:

> The fall season opened with the announcement of an amalgamation of two Calgary clubs, Acadia and Barracuda, to form a new club the Cascade Swim Club, with the primary purpose of being able to employ a full-time professional coach. Among other things, this permitted the club to apply for a Swim Canada grant. This bold step in the area of full-time coaching and finance was applauded by many swimming people throughout the province. It is encouraging to note that the Jasper Place Club have recognized the advantages of this and have announced the hiring of the former technical director of swimming for Scotland as their coach. We must not forget, however, the tremendous contribution made by our dedicated part-time coaches over the past years. Many of them continue to give unselfishly of their time in order to keep Alberta near the top in Canadian swimming[CASA(AS) President's Report:1974].

Although these coaches were not directly the responsibility of the CASA(AS) they would have an effect on the organization and on swimming in the province. Throughout its early existence club coaches had been volunteers. As the competitive element of the sport developed the responsibility of the coach became more and more time consuming. As Bill Wright one of the first professional coaches to enter the province points out:

> ...with the improvement of swimming more and more hours were required in the training process and for the amateur coach, someone who makes his living in a regular 9 to 5 job, there are only so many hours in a day and in a big club it becomes almost impossible for the purely amateur coach to survive physically(Interview, March 16th, 1983).

As the time element became greater some coaches received partial remuneration for their efforts. This amount gradually increased over the years as did the amount of time the coaches spent with their athletes. Jim Franchuk recounted how his honorarium increased:

> ...The first one I received was just a small stipend, one or two hundred dollars, for the year but by the end of my coaching they were giving me a thousand dollars a year which back in those days, I was only getting paid five thousand dollars as a teacher, so it was a fairly measurable amount(Interview, March 10th, 1983).

The evolution to professional coaches was a natural one that occurred as the time demands of the sport increased. To many of the people interviewed in this study the advent of the professional coach was seen as the most significant development in swimming and the CASA(AS). The arguments in favor of professional coaches were that they drew more people to the sport (empirical evidence does not really support this statement, CASA(AS) figures show that in 1974-75 1,610 swimmers were registered with year round clubs, in 1981/82 the figure was only 1594). They also encouraged more members of Alberta Swim Teams to go to major meets and they helped the CASA(AS) become better organized. Only one member of the 1982 CASA(AS) Board of Directors spoke out against professional coaches when he pointed out:

> I don't happen to think there is a great advantage to it. I think what it had done in some areas, and this is strictly personal, I think that it has probably done more harm to the sport in some aspects in that it is more difficult to get volunteers, to come out, to work as on-deck officials or to raise funds mainly because they have to put in a fairly substantial amount of cash upfront now. Whereas before you could join a club before for $50-$60, do some fund raising and go the whole year, half the travel was paid and the entry fees were paid by the club. Now there is a fairly substantial figure and I am not sure what it is (we are not directly involved with a swimming club), but there is a fairly substantial amount 3-$400.00 or more, so more people are inclined to say "hey I am putting all this money into it I don't have to be a volunteer. I have

> already paid my dues" so to speak. I think it has made it more difficult to get volunteers to put in the time that is necessary and if you are familar with swimming you know the amount of volunteers necessary just to run a swim meet is substantial. To operate a major swim meets you are looking at 45-50 people on deck or directly involved for each session of the meet. If you are looking at a national meet where you have 5 days, two sessions a day, you add the numbers up its a lot of volunteer time(Stuart Bauman, Interview, February 21st, 1983).

One significant aspect of the advent of professional coaches that no interviewee mentioned in any depth was the fact that there was a tremendous increase in the cost of swimming. Today top coaches may earn in access of $50,000 per year plus expenses. The cost of this is borne by the parents of swimmers. These parents pay club fees of up to $500-$600 per year and then on top of that pay travel expenses, accommodation, etc. for their swimmer. As a result of these costs swimming has become a sport which is predominantly the domain of the middle and upper classes. The consequences of this will be dealt with in more detail later on in the chapter in the section "Class Inequality in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section".

In summary, the period 1963 to 1973 saw several changes in the CASA(AS). In 1963 the organization became incorporated under the Societies Act of Alberta. The main reason for this being that once incorporated the group could utilize previously unavailable methods of fund raising. With these increased funds the organization could plan to extend its programs to include bigger and better meets, an increased number of provincial teams and so on.

Also around this time two new sub-bureaus of the CASA(AS) were created, the Edmonton Swimming Association and the Calgary Swimming Association. Shortly after their inception these two groups expanded and became the Northern and Southern Regions of the CASA(AS). Their main purpose was to coordinate clubs in their area, a function which became necessary because of the increased size of the provincial organization.

As the CASA(AS) grew, its administrative officers became increasingly drawn from the ranks of business and professional people. These people, although strong administrators, had little technical expertise in swimming and consequently another sub-bureau of the CASA(AS) was formed, the Alberta Coaches Council. The purpose of this group was to act in a technical advisory capacity to the executive committee. Throughout the late 1960's the CASA(AS) continued to grow. In the early 1970's the provincial government provided office space for sport governing bodies in the Percy Page Centre in St. Albert. One of the first organizations to take advantage of this was the CASA(AS) when in August 1973 they hired Julie Dawson as their first paid staff person.

There were many advantages to hiring Dawson; these were mainly in the area of improving communications. The one big disadvantage was that the organization was faced with acquiring extra funds annually for her salary. Another event that happened around the time of Dawson's employment was that two of the CASA(AS)'s member clubs announced the hiring of full-time professional coaches. The hiring of professional coaches was to have many effects on the provincial organizations. On the positive side the main one was to improve the quality of swimming in the province, while on the negative side it was to greatly increase the expense of being a competitive swimmer.

The Increasing Professionalization of the CASA(AS)(1974-1983)

In the decade following 1973 the CASA(AS) continued to work toward the development and improvement of swimming in the province. However the growth that the organization experienced appears to be of a qualitative not a quantitative nature, i.e., there was not a large increase in the size of the organization. The CASA(AS) experienced this type of growth because it has increasingly strived to place the best administrative and technical people in its top level positions. As Downs(1967:14) points out, what usually attracts these type of people (he terms them climbers) to become involved in an organization is an increase in power and prestige. Usually an organization can only confer this power and prestige if it promotes people, this occurring as a result of rapid expansion which creates more administrative positions. What happened in the case of the CASA(AS) is that tasks that previously were paid only nominal attention to (in the 1950's and 1960's) were now given increased power and prestige (e.g. Long Range Planning Chairman, Swimathon Chairman). In part this may be a result of the hiring of professional staff, i.e., the staff member in an effort to assist the organization separates out tasks that may have previously been linked together, e.g. planning and budget. The effect of this type of increased division of labour is an increase in the number of available positions in the organization's administration and subsequently an increase in the bureaucratization of the organization. All this change can occur without a comparative growth in size. In addition the high turnover rate which can take place in a voluntary sport organization makes it possible for new members to rise fairly quickly to positions of status and prestige. This can occur without forcing older more established members out of their position or rapidly increasing the number of administrators.

It would appear that through a combination of the two methods, an increased number of status giving administrative positions and rapid turnover of personnel, the CASA(AS) was able to attract good administrators and technical people without experiencing a rapid growth in size. It was generally agreed by all interviewees that the main factor limiting the quantitative expansion of the CASA(AS) was the increased cost attached to swimming.

Examples of the improved quality programs the organization was able to run throughout the 1970's were the number of national and international meets that the section hosted; the first Alberta Seminar on planning for the organization; the complete updating of the organization's by-laws; etc. All these were achieved without a comparative growth in the number of registered swimmers (as previously noted 1610 registered swimmers in 1974/1975 and 1594 in 1981/82).

As well as the programs noted above, there were several other events that occurred in the decade following 1973, which have relevance for an analysis of the CASA(AS). The first of these was the hiring of Rene LaRoux as a secretary to help Julie Dawson, the part-time executive director. LaRoux was hired in 1977 on a part-time basis. Dawson notes the reason for hiring additional professional help:

> I just couldn't handle it any longer. I was working longer and longer hours and I wasn't able to handle so much work (Interview, March 3rd, 1983).

The hiring of LaRoux did help to relieve some of Dawson's load. It also meant that the office in the Percy Page Centre could handle more of the association's affairs which were now becoming increasingly complex as a consequence of enlarged numbers of active committees. On the negative side the hiring of another professional increased the financial commitments of the organization.

The next major event to occur also involved the employment of a professional. In 1978 Bill Wright, the swim coach at Jasper Place Pool, entered the University of Alberta to enroll in a Master's Degree Program. While at the university, Wright would coach the swim team and also to supplement his salary he negotiated with the CASA(AS) to act as their technical coordinator. The main aspects of Wright's responsibilities when he undertook this role were to chair the Project '81 committee. Project '81 had emanated from the "Alberta First Seminar"(a planning meeting for CASA(AS) members) and was:

> a developmental program directed at improving participation at all levels of competitive swimming, at disseminating technical information to coaches and officials, and at formulating in advance a meaningful competitive program to suit the current needs of the province(Wright Correspondence to Project 81 Committee Members November 14th, 1978).

Wright functioned in the capacity of Technical Coordinator for two years while chairing Project '81 and in 1980 he was reappointed on a part-time basis as Technical Coordinator working to implement some of the proposals from Project '81. Once again the employment of a professional allowed the CASA(AS) to undertake more and better projects, but again the ever present financial commitments to this position existed. In part the meeting of these financial commitments was helped by increased provincial government assistance to sport governing bodies which was initiated in 1977.

At the time of Wright's appointment Julie Dawson and Rene LaRoux were also working for the CASA(AS), so essentially the organization employed 3 part-time people. Originally Dawson, who had not actually sought the job of executive director, had only intended to stay for 2 or 3 years. In fact in the organization's minutes of their 1976

A.G.M., reference is made to the possibility of obtaining a grant to employ an Executive Director. Although periodic mention is made of securing monies for this post it was not until November 1980 that Bob Burns was appointed as the organization's full-time executive director. Rene LaRoux continued as part-time secretary until December 1980 when Linda Becker took her place. Becker remained part-time until January 1983 when she assumed a position as a full-time staff member. Currently, then, the CASA(AS) has 3 professional staff, namely a full-time executive director, a full-time secretary and a part-time technical coordinator.

The impact of hiring professionals in voluntary sport organizations is difficult to assess. Although no studies of any type could be found on this subject the opinions of the vast majority of CASA(AS) members interviewed was that this was the most influential move the organization has ever taken. What the professional was able to do for the administration of the organization was to provide a central point for collecting and disseminating information. As Bob Burns explained when asked if he thought this was one of the assets of an executive director:

> I certainly do, its part of the communication thing I guess...we are getting more and more calls now because people know we are there full-time and they have a terrible problem dealing with the executive during the day because they all have other jobs and they are sometimes hard to get hold of ...with our set up here they can call during the day and even if I don't have the answer I have the time to do the phoning and running around and can get back to them(Interview, March 24th, 1983).

In addition to providing the central information service, the executive director has also been able to increase the efficiency of the volunteer executive. Not only does the executive director relieve some of the more routine tasks from the shoulders of the executive, he is also able to make sure that they are focusing their efforts on more relevant items. John Hamilton explains:

> I maintain getting a professional on staff, a paid person, does not eliminate your workload. It increases it. I find more reminders from Bob now to say there is a meeting coming up, these are the items on the agenda, think about them and read the attached or something... and this is excellent because we as volunteers have an awful tendency -- we spend so much time on our daily work lives making a living...that sport kind of takes a backseat occasionally and somedays we forget about it(Interview, March 3rd, 1983).

Certainly, as pointed out earlier, it is hard to deny that the quality of programs has improved with the hiring of these people. What has not improved dramatically, however, is the number of year round swimmers involved in the organization. This in part may be due to the cost of joining a swim club which now in many clubs is several hundred dollars per year. It is interesting and important to note that over the period of the last two years the efforts of both the Executive and Technical Director have, in part, been directed to developing what has previously been seen as the "less attractive" areas of swimming (less attractive because they are not as visible), namely these are the summer clubs, i.e., those clubs with only outdoor pools; rural clubs; and Master's Swimming (swimmers over 25). In terms of Master's and Summer Swimming these have now both been fully incorporated into the CASA(AS) and the Executive Director and his staff handle both registration and "year round administrative support services to the executives and affiliated clubs of the organizations"(CASA(AS) President's Report 1982). To develop clubs in the rural areas the Technical Director has held numerous developmental clinics and through his efforts the organization has been involved in provincial government supported programs such as the 1980 Anniversary Talent Identification Program and the Sport Outreach program. Both of these are designed to improve sport in the province's smaller centers.

It is interesting to observe that the CASA(AS) has now adopted this tactic of attempting to develop the less attractive areas of swimming. Perhaps Scott's(1967) analysis of agencies for the blind may be used to help explain the case of the CASA(AS). Perrow citing Scott's work notes:

> The vast majority of agencies for the blind are oriented to providing service for the "attractive blind" as one might call them -- the children and young adults who might be employable. The child taps the sympathy of the generous public, and the young adult promises an adequate return on investment for those who respond to more calculated arguments. Consequently, about 80 percent of the blind -- the old, those with other disabilities, and those in minority groups with high unemployment rates -- are more or less neglected by the agencies(1970:128).

In the case of the CASA(AS) we may suggest that their efforts have been directed to the "attractive swimmer", i.e., the faster younger swimmer (most swimmers reach peak performance at between 15 and 20 years of age). These are the people who can secure grants and who are the focus of media attention. As a result of this emphasis the "unattractive swimmers", summer swimmers, master swimmers and swimmers from rural areas who are not as fast, have been neglected. As the organization has reached a plateau in terms of attracting more "attractive swimmers", it has had to turn its attention to the unattractive as they now offer possible resources in the form of membership fees or previously unavailable or harder to obtain grants. Indeed an example of this may be seen in the fact that the CASA(AS) received a $40,000 grant from their efforts to promote summer swimming clubs.

In summary the period from 1973 to the present was one of qualitative not quantitative growth. In part this improvement in the quality of programs was due to the increase in professional staff from one part-time person to two full- and one part-time people. The lack of quantitative growth has been addressed over the past two or three years as efforts are made to promote some of the "less attractive" components of the sport of swimming.

Conclusion

What this section has tried to do is to trace the development and subsequent bureaucratization of the CASA(AS) from its inception in the 1920's to the present day. What will be presented as the conclusion to this section is an outline of how the organization appears to have developed. Also a table showing the changes in number of the members, the number of clubs, and budget size is included to illustrate the growth of the organization. It is hoped that the outline presented could, in the future, be used in comparative research on other voluntary sport groups and eventually a developmental model for these types of organizations could be established.

The formation of the social collective known as the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section was initiated by a group of sub-units (clubs) which came together to further a common cause, the control and promotion of swimming. The leaders of these sub-units exhibited characteristics of a social quality which Weber has termed charisma.

Through this quality the leaders were able to draw to their cause a cadre of followers. In order to facilitate the achievement of their objectives an initial level of organization was evolved. This basically focused around the activities of the charismatic leaders and their key followers. The relationship between the leaders and their followers was personal and did not initially involve any formal rules and regulations or any hierarchy of authority.

The early structure of the CASA(AS) may be described as an undifferentiated, highly participative type of arrangement. There was no division of labour, few records were kept, meetings were held informally and coordination of activities was at the personal level.

> In such a situation, the organization demands and benefits are quite consistent with individual needs

> and contributions. Decisions are made through consensus. Control is carried out informally by the normal interaction patterns of a small group. The organization in this state is highly sensitive to individual needs and abilities. Such an organization is characterized by low formal structure (Wertheim, 1976:7).

As a result of the unique position the CASA(AS) and most other voluntary sport organizations have, i.e., a monopoly on the control of sport in its area, it did not have to compete with similar organizations for control of resources. Neither did it experience some of the problems of leadership succession that can befall an organization founded on charismatic authority. This unique position allowed the organization to quickly develop some degree of stability and subsequently it began to grow. As it grew the CASA(AS) started to develop its first bureaucratic characteristic in that a simple division of labour was created. As further growth took place the charismatic authority structure on which the organization was founded would start to become routinized. Evidence of this trend was present not only in the division of labour that occurred, but in the creation of basic rules and regulations to control the affair of the organization, and in the increased number of organizations with which the CASA(AS) interrelated.

Like any other organization the CASA(AS) was influenced by its environment and when war was declared the ensuing depletion of resources, i.e., swimmers, caused the organization to decline somewhat. The decline was evidenced

Table 1

Development of The Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section

Year	# of Clubs	# of Members	Budget
1935	8	DNA*	$205.93
1939	7	DNA*	$189.07
1945	4	DNA*	$68.15
1949	9	DNA*	$157.41
1954	DNA*	DNA*	$247.91
1963	14	DNA*	$3854.62
1974	24	1483	$46,690.68
1983	32	1661	$256,900.00

* Data Not Available

by a decrease in the administrative activity of the organization and by a reduction in two of the organization's key resources, money and swimmers. It was not until three to four years after the war that the CASA(AS) started to regain some of the ground it had lost. In large part the regaining of ground was due to the war. One of the consequences of military call up was to draw attention to the poor fitness levels of Canadians. As a result of this finding, a societal response that came about after the war, was the establishment of municipal recreation commissions. These groups would as part of their mandate build many new swimming pools. At these pools clubs were formed and these clubs became members of the CASA(AS). Another factor that also helped the growth of the CASA(AS) around this time period was the involvement in the organization of graduates from recently initiated university programs in physical education. These graduates utilized their training to help the development of the CASA(AS). As a result of these two factors the organization not only regained the ground it had lost but it also started to expand and offer an increased number of activities. In order to control these activities a more formal structure of rules and regulations was employed. The number of executive officers of the organization increased and their roles became more differentiated, i.e., there was an increased division of labour.

In the years from the mid- to late 1950's the CASA(AS) was to experience an even more rapid growth than it did in the first half of the decade. Three factors were the key contributors to this growth. First, the concept of age group swimming increased the number of members in the organization. Second, the development of indoor pools meant more opportunity for competition. Finally, the combined effect of the first two factors created a demand for more and better administrators. These people were drawn from the ranks of the parents of age group swimmers and often gravitated to the positions because they had been able to develop similar skills through their role in the workforce. The combined effect of these three factors on the administrative structure was that there was an increase in the number and complexity of rules to control and coordinate the expanded programs. There was a greater division of labour because of the increased number of organizational tasks. Finally, because the administration of the organization became more complex, there was an increased emphasis on administrative qualifications.

Two consequences of the increased size of the CASA(AS) were a need to generate funds and a need for a more differentiated organizational structure. The first need was met through the legal incorporation of the organization. This had the effect of making the CASA(AS) eligible for government grants and to run certain fund raising ventures. It also, to a certain extent, had the effect of separating the personal resources of the official from those of the organization. The second need was met through the creation of a number of sub-bureaus of the CASA(AS). These had the effect of further increasing the division of labour by totally separating administrative tasks from technical tasks. They also meant the creation of another hierarchical level in the organizational structure.

The CASA(AS) continued to grow following its incorporation. Although the new sub-bureaus were able to alleviate some of the increased administrative load, by the early 1970's the responsibilities were such that they could not be solely handled by volunteers. To cope with this situation the organization employed its first paid employee. The hiring of this person saw an improvement in the quality of CASA(AS) programs but not a concurrent rise in organizational membership. Cost was seen as one of the main limiting factors to increased membership. As the quality of CASA(AS) programs improved the time commitment of the paid staff increased. Eventually she was given secretarial assistance and ultimately she resigned and was replaced by a full-time executive director. As the administrative side of the organization was improving rapidly through the use of paid staff, the technical component was not making similar gains. To remedy this situation the organization hired a part-time technical coordinator. All of these paid staff had the effect of placing a financial strain on the organization. To meet these financial commitments the CASA(AS) has recently started to channel some of its administrative efforts to previously neglected areas of swimming, i.e., Master's swimming and the Summer Swim programs.

C. The Manifestations of Bureaucracy in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section

Introduction

Researchers who study bureaucracy have extracted varying numbers of characteristics from Weber's original *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (*Economy and Society*). In this study one of the better known and more parsimonious set of characteristics is used, that presented by Martin Albrow in his book Bureaucracy. Albrow presents ten characteristics which he feels exist in a bureaucratic organization. The growth of these ten features indicated an increased state of bureaucratization.

Researchers in the sociology of sport and sport administration have frequently commented that voluntary sport organizations are becoming more bureaucratized (cf. Page, 1973; McPherson, 1975; and Kidd, 1980). However none have attempted to identify those characteristics that exemplify this increasing tendency. In this section each of Albrow's ten features will be examined individually and the extent to which each is manifest in the CASA(AS) will be outlined.

Manifestations of Bureaucracy in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section

The Staff Members are Personally Free, Observing Only the Impersonal Duties of Their Office

In Weber's ideal type of legal-rational bureaucracy there is a separation of the offical duties of the bureaucrat and his/her private life.

> In principle the Kontor(office) is separated from the household, business from private correspondence, and business assets from private life(Weber,1968:957).

In this study four questions were asked in an attempt to determine if the officers of a voluntary sport organization are indeed "free" and if their official responsibilities are separate from their private lives. The questions related to i) the time period in which the officers conduct their work; ii) the place the volunteer work was undertaken; iii) the use of personal funds to carry out volunteer work and iv) whether or not the volunteers socialized with other volunteers. A further question attempted to determine if any of these situations had changed during the course of the volunteer's involvement with CASA(AS).

In regard to the time period in which the officials carried out their volunteer activity, it was hypothesized that if a set time period was used this would constitute a separation of official duties from the personal responsibilities of the volunteer and thus the official could be viewed as being "personally free". Analysis of the interview data revealed that although certain collective tasks, e.g. swim meets and meetings were obviously held at a set time, no-one in the organization had a set time for conducting the official tasks which individually they were responsible for. As Dorothy Hirsch, a current board member, pointed out:

> ...you get phone calls at any time of day. People are inquiring about things or looking for information. They need assistance in some way(Interview, February 24th, 1983).

Several interviewees expressed similar sentiments, even those volunteers who were involved in paid employment pointed out that they had no set time period, for example, in the evenings, to do their volunteer work. Some of it would be done utilizing the resource they had at their office while other aspects would be conducted in their private residence. Even the executive director, Bob Burns, pointed out that he did not stick to set office hours to carry out his job.

> I would say my work is split 50/50 between 8:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m., and evenings and weekends and that's probably because I choose to make it so. One could function here and provide a similar level of services by just staying confined to the office hours. What I do outside of office hours is purely because I seek it out as I feel it is part of the job and helps the organization(Interview, March 24th, 1983).

It may be concluded, then, that establishing a time period for working on official tasks, would depend on the nature of the task. If the task involves a number of volunteers and/or other members of the organization, a common time must be set or chaos would result. For individual tasks officials may be called upon to undertake these at anytime and therefore they cannot be considered personally free.

The question of in what place the volunteers carried out their work was asked in order to determine if, as Weber suggested, the Kontor (office) is separated from the household. If official tasks for the voluntary sport organization were carried out in the organization's office then this would indicate some degree of the official being "personally free". If they were mainly carried out in the home the opposite would be true. As the time period for certain tasks was fixed so, too, the location of some jobs was predetermined; for example, executive meetings and swim meets. For tasks that did not require a specific location the majority of officials reported they did them in their home. Some people, mainly those in the upper level administrative positions, also made use of their workplace.

It is interesting to note that although "the kitchen table" was still the predominant work place of the volunteer official, the advent of the professional administrator has centralized some functions into the organization's office. Board member, Hazel Chapman, commented on this change:

> I do most of my work right here on the dining room or kitchen table. I know that there is an old saying about sport progressing off the kitchen table into the office but I still feel an awful lot of it is done on the kitchen table(Interview, March 8th, 1983).

Several respondents made similar comments and Helen Jones provided an example of how the centralized office had helped her:

> I did most of my work on the kitchen table. In fact all the work in the 1960's was done in someone's home...I can remember duplicating exams. I had a Gestetner downstairs on the work bench and I'd have to duplicate all the exams for the whole province and mail them out from the house here. Now if I need 10 referee's exams to go to Lethbridge I phone Bob Burns [the executive director], he keeps a supply of the exams out there and he ships them out of the office(Interview, February 17th, 1983).

It appears, then, that over the years changes have occurred in the place in which a volunteer's official tasks are carried out. Originally the exclusive domain of the "kitchen table" some of these functions have now been assumed by the organization's office. In spite of these changes the vast amount of volunteer activity is still "on the kitchen table" and consequently we cannot suggest that the office is separate from the household.

In the matter of personal and business assets Weber(1968:957) suggests that in a legal-rational bureaucracy "public monies and equipment are divorced from the private property of the official". In order to determine if this was the case the question was posed "Does it cost you money out of your own pocket to be a member of the CASA(AS)?", the premise being that if it did cost a volunteer money to conduct the official tasks of the organization then he/she could not be considered "personally free".

In nearly every case respondents suggested it cost them money to perform their official tasks. For example Hazel Chapman explained:

> It means wear and tear on your car and your gas, of course gas is going up, long distance telephone calls, your stationary and things like that if you have to send letters they all cost you money(Interview, March 8th, 1983).

While there were mechanisms by which such expenses could be claimed back, most respondents indicated they rarely did so. They felt the cost was part of being an official a fact that further emphasizes that volunteers cannot be considered "personally free".

The final question on this particular characteristic dealt with whether or not officials of the organization socialized with others in the organization, the hypothesis being that if organizational functions were divorced from private life then it would be unlikely to find officials socializing with each other outside of swimming related activities. Analysis of the interview data provides relatively inconclusive evidence on this point. Several respondents indicated that they had or still did socialize with fellow officials. Others reported no social contact.

In summary, what was being considered in this particular sub-section was whether or not officials of the voluntary sport organization satisfy Weber's bureaucratic characteristic of being personally free, i.e., their official functions for the organization can be separated from their private life. What we conclude is that the official functions of volunteers cannot be divorced from their private lives and therefore they are not personally free from their role in the organization.

There Is a Clear Hierarchy of Offices

Mouzelis(1969:40) has pointed out that "hierarchy in general (in the sense of levels of authority) is to be found in any administration which has a certain degree of magnitude and complexity". The CASA(AS) is no exception to this rule as it functions within a hierarchy of authority

(See Table 2) and more importantly for our purpose it also has a hierarchy of authority within its structure (See Table 3).

Several researchers (Udy, 1959; Hall, Haas and Johnson, 1967; and Meyer, 1968) have used differing measures relating to the number and depth of hierarchical levels to assess the degree of bureaucratization of an organization. Nevertheless, as Mouzelis points out, it is not the number of levels or size of the span of control that makes an organization bureaucratic, "the decisive criterion is whether or not the authority relations have a precise and impersonal character, as a result of the elaboration of rational rules"(1969:40).

In the case of the CASA(AS) there are, indeed, a fairly complex set of rules and regulations which outline a chain of command for different actions. If the CASA(AS) was an "ideal type" bureaucracy the higher level executives would exercise control over the lower levels through strict and impersonal use of these rules but this is not exactly the case. Although rules and regulations are followed for many of the activities of the CASA(AS), for example, team selections, meet sanctions, disciplining swimmers, etc. much of the work of the organization is carried out in a more personal manner.

Essentially this may be taken to mean that although there are accepted authority relationships between superiors and subordinates in the organization, much of what gets done

Table 2

The Organizational Hierarchy of Amateur Swimming

FINA
Federation de
natation amateur

AFC
Aquatic Federation
of Canada

CASA
Canadian Amateur
Swimming Association

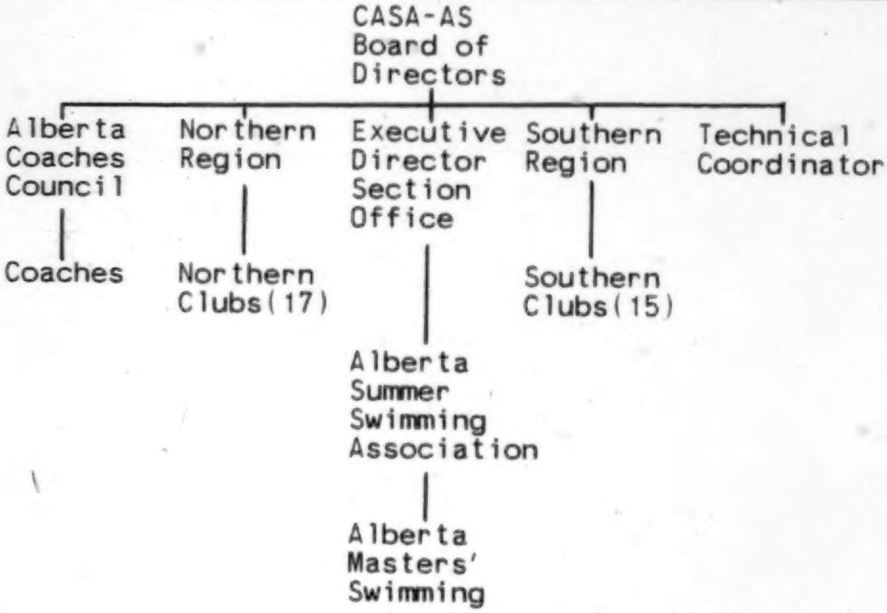
CASA(AS)
Canadian Amateur
Swimming
Association, Alberta
Section

Swimming Clubs
Within Alberta

is not so much a product of this authority but more a product of social obligations which are created. These social obligations arise out of the fact that most members have a vested interest in the organization, a child who swims. If superiors can show that the actions of the organization are directly or indirectly beneficial to the member's interest in it then the impersonal authority relations, characteristic of the ideal type bureaucracy, do not have to be called into play. Rather to ensure that their swimmer receives the full benefit of the action the subordinate voluntarily complies with the requests. If the

Table 3

Organizational Structure of The Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section


CASA-AS Board of Directors
Alberta Coaches Council
Northern Region
Executive Director Section Office
Southern Region
Technical Coordinator
Coaches
Northern Clubs(17)
Southern Clubs(15)
Alberta Summer Swimming Association
Alberta Masters' Swimming

actions of the organization are such that subordinates do not wish to comply with them the superiors always have recourse to the impersonal rules which can be enforced. However as Blau and Meyer point out:

> The mere knowledge that the rule exists and, possibly, that it is enforced elsewhere, instills a sense of obligation to liberal superiors and induces subordinates more readily to comply with their requests(1971:64).

In summary, the CASA(AS) does exhibit a hierarchy of authority. Although this is followed for certain actions of the organizations for the most part orders are accepted because subordinates can directly or indirectly see the benefit to their swimmer.

The Functions of the Offices are Clearly Specified

Gerth and Mills(1946:196) in their book From Max Weber:Essays in Sociology suggest that in a bureaucratic structure "the regular activities required for the purposes (of the organization) are distributed in a fixed way as official duties". This type of division of labour "makes it possible to employ only specialized experts in each particular position and to make every one of them responsible for the effective performance of his duties"(Blau and Meyer,1971:18).

In the case of the CASA(AS) the use of the terminology "specialized experts" may be somewhat grandiose; nevertheless, the organization does try to place the best people in the best jobs. To achieve this end officials are not elected to specific positions rather a Board of Directors is elected and this Board then elects their own President and Committee chairpeople. Should the Board of Directors not have the ability to undertake a particular position or should a more qualified person be available, who is not on the board, the directors have the option to approach this person to take the position. The division of labour is done by function, i.e., "major activities of the organization are identified...and one of them [the Board of Directors] is assigned to each unit of the organization"(Blau and Meyer,1971:125).

When a person is assigned to be in charge of a particular unit, e.g. programs, long range planning, the functions of that office are specifically designated in the CASA(AS) By-Laws. For example the following two "duties of officers" are taken from the by-laws.

The Chairman of Trophies and Awards shall

1. Undertake administrative duties necessary in respect to Trophies and Awards within the section.
2. Control the applications and issuing of National Time standard Awards at the Section level.
3. Secure awards including ribbons and medals for Section sponsored meets.
4. Maintain a current list of Trophies with the criteria for the award of each.
5. Make application for eligible nominees for Alberta Provincial Awards.
6. Present a report at the Annual Meeting of the Section.

The Chairman of Long Range Planning shall

1. Develop a program on a one, four and eight year basis for the growth of the Section, in close cooperation with the Board of Directors and the Finance Committee.
2. Present an annual report at the Annual Meeting reviewing the year's activities and recommending proposals for consideration in projection for at least one year.
3. Be a member of the Finance Committee.

As can be seen the job descriptions are written in fairly broad terms. Most officials had seen and read their job descriptions and as one pointed out "I couldn't recite it to you word for word but I have a general idea of what it says(Jason Kay, Interview, March 21st, 1983). Others noted that it was only recently that they had acquired job descriptions (1981) and previously responsibilities had been passed on by word of mouth.

From what has been presented in Section 1 of this Chapter we know that a functional division of labour was one of the first bureaucratic characteristics that the CASA(AS) exhibited. In terms of specifically outlining the functions of the officers who look after these units what we find is that this has, until very recently, been conveyed by word of mouth. Only over the period of the last three years have written job descriptions been available and even these are written in fairly broad terms.

Officials are appointed on the basis of a contract

In the CASA(AS) no volunteer, past or present, has had any type of contract with the organization. The officers do have a set period for their appointment; however, these exhibit some degree of flexibility and people are often reappointed for extra terms. The organization may be seen to operate on what Durkheim has termed "the non-contractual bases of contract". Perrow suggests that this may be taken to mean that:

> There must be many common norms, some give and take, and mutual expectations which cannot be codified. Behind these norms, however, is the threat of losing out if one does not play the game(1970:125).

Officers of the CASA(AS) are bound by these common norms and mutual expectations to perform their respective functions to the best of their ability. John Hamilton, a former president of the organization, pointed out why officers were not given contracts:

> you have to be dedicated to do something for the sport. If you didn't show that type of desire they wouldn't elect you. So its through your effort and people watching what you are doing that you do the job (Interview,March 3rd,1983).

These unwritten expectations and the social consequences of failing to meet peer expectations, not written contracts, are the main control mechanisms for ensuring the execution of volunteer work. In terms of the paid staff only one, the executive director, has a written contract. The technical director and secretary are merely appointed on the basis of a verbal agreement.

The Officials of the Organization are Selected on the Basis of a Professional Qualification Ideally Substantiated by a Diploma Gained Through Examination

As the division of labour within the CASA(AS) became more specialized, i.e., more committees started to appear to handle the increased number of tasks the organization faced, so the emphasis on professional qualifications increased. In its early days the executive of the CASA(AS) was made up of people like the Davidsons whose only qualifications were some informal training in the technical aspects of swimming and a tremendous enthusiasm for the sport.

In the mid 1950's when age group swimming was introduced into Canada the ensuing increase in parental involvement brought with it an increased emphasis on professional qualifications. As previously outlined the parents who came to the organization had little technical expertise in swimming, but a number did have business backgrounds and became interested in the administration of the organization. As these professionally qualified people took over the administration of the CASA(AS) the organization ran more like a business and so prerequisite skills for involvement in the organization became some type of business background. Those parents who did not gravitate to the administrative component of the organization were needed to help run swim meets; since, they had no previous experience they had to be trained in these skills. Out of this training a certification program for each of the components of officiating, timing, starting, stroke and turn judges, etc. developed. Completion of all these components and the necessary practical experience enabled one to become certified as a Master Official.

As the organization grew the quality of its administration improved, officials became better qualified and it became more important to have the necessary prerequisite skills if one wanted to obtain a higher level position. This situation, although beneficial in terms of the efficiency of the CASA(AS), had the effect of limiting involvement in the administration of the organization to those who were able to gain the prerequisite skills through their work. In addition to the increased demand for professional qualifications for administrators, the period from the late 1950's to the present day has also seen a demand for increased qualifications for coaches. Initially coaches were people who gained their training on a trial and error basis. With an increase in the number and depth of physical education programs in the country, and programs like coaching certification, coaches now are highly trained in both the technical aspects of swimming and in coaching theory. This emphasis on "credentialism" has also had the effect of limiting the number of people who could become coaches.

In summary the necessity of professional qualifications for involvement in the CASA(AS) has increased as the organization has grown more complex. This phenomenon has had the effect of increasing the efficiency of the organization but it has also limited those who are able to become involved.

The Officials have a Money Salary and Usually Pension Rights. The Salary is Graded According to Position in the Hierarchy. The Official can Always Leave the Post, and Under Certain Circumstances it May Also be Terminated

None of the volunteers in the CASA(AS) receive any financial remuneration for their work with the organization. This is laid down in the organization's constitution which states:

> Directors, as such, shall not receive any stated remuneration for their services but expenses shall be allowed for their attendance at meetings of the Board of Directors. Nothing herein contained shall

> be construed to preclude any Director from serving the Association as an officer or in any other capacity and receiving compensation therefore. The Directors shall serve as such without remuneration and no Director shall directly or indirectly receive any profit from his position as such; provided that a Director may be paid reasonable expenses incurred by him in the performance of his duties.

As is indicated officers are allowed to receive reimbursement for their expenses. It may be suggested that this in itself shows some form of gradation as lower level members are not eligible for this type of financial consideration. Most of those who were eligible did, however, point out that they rarely claimed anything.

The executive director of the organization is the only paid staff person who receives a salary and has pension rights. The secretary is paid an hourly wage and the technical director receives a consulting fee.

As indicated in the by-laws quoted below an officer can leave his/her post and if the appropriate resolution is passed the person's tenure may be terminated.

> An office of Director, Officer, or Committee Chairman shall be automatically vacated: (a) If the incumbent submits a resignation in writing; (b) If a resolution is passed by a three-quarters majority of Directors that an Officer, Director or Committee Chairman is considered to be in default of his/her responsibilities(CASA, By-Laws, 1981).

The Official's Post is His [Her] Sole or Major Occupation

In the CASA(AS) the only two officials that hold posts which are their sole or major occupation are the paid staff positions of executive director and secretary. Several officials did, however, indicate a time commitment to the organization that could be considered full-time. Some also indicated that their volunteer involvement with the CASA(AS) was so great a time commitment that it was their sole "volunteer occupation", i.e., they were unable to take on other volunteer work. It is interesting to note that nearly all of those who indicated a time commitment comparable to a full-time job were females and although it is beyond the scope of this study to examine this volunteer involvement or unpaid labour, it is a factor that should be considered in any studies that examine the relationship of sport and work particularly studies that consider gender.

The volunteer time commitment to the organization appears to have grown over the years and certainly the advent of paid staff has taken place in the last decade. Weber(1978:958) points out that only when the office is fully developed does "official activity demand the full working capacity of the official". Given this premise it may not be presumptuous to suggest that if the CASA(AS) grows further and official tasks develop and increase in complexity that we will see an increase in the existing full-time staff.

There is a Career Structure and Promotion is Possible Either by Seniority or Merit and According to the Judgement of Superiors

Weber(1978:963) suggests that in a bureaucratic organization the official "moves from lower, less important and lower paid to the higher positions". Ignoring the concept of payment which has little relevance for a voluntary organization we can find such a career structure in the CASA(AS). Rick Clay, one of the senior directors of the organization, exemplified this process as he described his career:

> It started off with my son swimming and I went to a swim meet and thought they were the most boring bloody thing I'd ever seen. Hundreds of kids swimming back and forth in the pool you would sit there for a day to watch your competitor swim maybe twice, for a total of ten minutes at the outside, and I could only stand that for a short period of time so I decided I might as well be sitting down on deck [by the poolside] as up in the stands, so I took the first course which is your timers. Place judge and marshall are after that and after you've done that for a while that becomes dull so in my case I decided well the blue badge [a Master Official] is the thing to do. I went and took all my courses and got my blue badge and just after I had completed that they asked me if I would be the Meet Manager for the National Championships in Calgary, which was in 1975. So I thought why not, I was too stupid to say no, so I did that and it just progressed from that. Then I became interested to find out where all these decisions are coming from, your executive decisions, so I went to a few directors' meetings, basically as an observer. I went to see what the heck was going on and eventually they said you know the election is coming up, you have been at the last three or four meetings, how would you like to be a member of the board, put your name up for election. I said sure why not, I'm coming anyway I might as well have voting power and things like that(Interview, March 7th, 1983).

Like Clay, nearly everyone in the CASA(AS) began their career because their children started to swim competitively. Since parental involvement is a virtual prerequisite to the child's involvement, most parents, like Clay, also took one or more of the courses leading up to the Master Official's badge. Many became involved in the club organization before moving on to get involved at regional or provincial levels. Some stay involved at the club level whereas others are able to rise to these higher levels. The conditions to rise to the higher positions are not really "fixed" as Weber suggests they should be in a bureaucratic organization.

> He [the official] wants these conditions fixed in terms of seniority or possibly according to grades achieved in a developed system of expert examinations(Weber, 1978:963).

Certainly in the CASA(AS) there is a developed system of exams that leads to "the blue badge" and seniority has some relevance in attaining higher level positions. This latter point is evidenced by the fact that all senior officials had spent time in the club ranks, some have also worked at regional level, and all serve time in lower level provincial posts before rising to the senior director's position. Despite these apparent preconditions it appears that as Weber suggests:

> the necessity of taking general personal and intellectual qualifications into consideration, irrespective of the often subaltern character of the educational certificate, has led to a condition in which the highest political offices...are principally filled without reference to such certificates(1946:204).

In the CASA(AS) these higher positions are often filled in the manner that Weber suggests. Although this phenomenon exists in many organizations, it is feasible to suggest that in voluntary sport organizations the consequences of this are that certain groups may be excluded from participation. Two of these groups, lower income individuals and females, will be considered later in this chapter.

In conclusion we may say that for the officials of the CASA(AS) there is a career structure. Progress through this structure is made possible in part by seniority and in part according to the acquiring of certificates. For the senior level executive positions, however, these qualifications are often less important than personal and intellectual qualifications.

The Official May Appropriate Neither the Post Nor the Resources Which Go With It

Unlike the feudal type of administration which proceeded it, a legal-rational bureaucracy makes no provisions for the bureaucrat to sell or pass on his/her position or its resources. In order to see if this held true for the CASA(AS) questions were asked to determine if an official could select his/her successor. In theory such a move would be impossible as officials are elected not selected to their positions. Nevertheless, a cursory review of Annual General Meetings reveals that rarely are officers opposed for positions, so in practice such a process may occur.

The general response for officers of the CASA(AS), particularly the higher level ones, was that they had been approached "to fill someone's shoes" and if they were to leave their post they would do the same. Barb Keegan explained:

> ..it's nice to get somebody to follow in your footsteps, once you've done a job you like somebody to carry it on. I don't think there is an official way to do it but I certainly think that informally you can(Interview, February 22nd, 1983).

This process appears to be well accepted by the organization so much so that several interviewees pointed out that Rick Clay is going to be the President of the Board after Phil Haggerty, the current President, steps down.

In summary, then, it appears that in the CASA(AS) the official is still somewhat the owner of his/her post. Like a traditional leader he/she can pass on this position onto another member of the organization.

The Official is Subject to a Unified Control and Disciplinary System

The operation of a bureaucratic organization is governed "by a consistent system of abstract rules...(and) consists of application of these rules to particular cases"(Weber,1947:330). Blau and Meyer(1971:19) suggest that "explicit rules and regulations define the responsibility of each member of the organization and the relationships among them".

In the CASA(AS) the first characteristic of bureaucracy to appear in the organization was that of a set of rules. As the organization has grown so, too, have the number of these rules increased and become more complex. This is evidenced by the fact that now the organization's constitution and by-laws are nearly 30 pages long and standing orders are in the region of 100 pages. This does not include the rules necessary to run a swim meet. These also are extensive and have grown in number and complexity as swimming has become more technical.

In terms of a disciplinary system such a mechanism does exist in the CASA(AS) and is outlined in the constitution:

> Any member(swimming club or person) may cease to be affiliated with the P.S. [Provincial Section] as a result of: i) non-payment of the specified annual affiliation fee or, ii) expulsion for cause, provided that such action is approved by a three-quarter majority vote of the P.S. [Provincial Section] concerned(1981).

Despite the existence of such a system most interviewees pointed out that they had never seen or heard of it being used. Two reasons were presented as to why this was not usually necessary. Stuart Bauman outlined the first of these:

> People who get elected to the Board of Directors have pretty well proven themselves prior to the nomination. They have been involved in the sport probably for a minimum of three years and have in most cases gone through all of, or a great majority of, the officiating needs, because they are the prime requirement of the sport. They have been involved in the running of swim meets or fund raising, and have always had fairly responsible positions along the way. Most of them progress through the club rankings first and they go in -- not necessarily into a presidency -- but holding some type committee responsibility in the club areas...so they have pretty well proven themselves before they get to Provincial Level(Interview, February 21st, 1983).

The second reason why the disciplinary system is rarely used is outlined by Neil Case:

> If somebody gets in there and they find they are not interested and don't want to be involved and don't go to meetings and so on then it's sort of the normal selection process, the next A.G.M. they are probably not elected again(Interview, February 22nd, 1983).

These two reasons then, prior record and non-reelection, allow the organization to ensure that it only gets and keeps committed people in its ranks.

In conclusion the CASA-AS does have a system of formal rules that the official is subject to, but in the case of disciplinary action this is usually taken care of outside the bounds of the rules.

Conclusion

What has been presented in this section is an examination of how Martin Albrow's ten characteristics of bureaucracy are manifest in the CASA(AS). What is important to note is that these are the characteristics of the 'ideal type' bureaucracy and as Blau and Meyer(1971:24) note "since perfect bureaucratization is never fully realized, no empirical organization corresponds exactly to this scientific construct".

In the case of the CASA(AS) we have seen that some characteristics are not present in any degree, others are present to a greater or lesser extent. For example, only in the case of the executive director do we find evidence for appointment on the basis of a contract and payment of a money salary. In addition only he and his secretary have as their sole occupation their work with the CASA(AS). Volunteer members may, nevertheless, have as their sole "volunteer occupation" their work with the CASA(AS). Officials for the most part are not personally free from their duties with the organization. The appropriation of offices does take place and because authority is "passed on" to selected successors, the organization may be said, in this respect, to show some evidence of a traditional rather than a legal-rational bureaucracy.

The emergence of bureaucratic characteristics in the CASA(AS) started with the creation of a functional division of labour in which the duties of officers were specified and rules and regulations governed the interrelationships of these offices. As the organization grew the division of labour became more complex and the functions of officers were more clearly specified and rules and regulations increased in number. With increased size and complexity came an emphasis on the necessity of professional qualifications for the officers of the organization and with this there started to develop a career structure for obtaining top level positions. Also as a result of increased size we have seen the creation of a more complex hierarchy of authority and a large number of rules to control the actions of the membership.

What we may suggest then is that there is a possible pattern of bureaucratization for voluntary organizations. In its initial stages of development the only bureaucratic characteristics that the voluntary organization exhibits are a division of labour which results in the functions of the offices being specified and a unified control system, i.e., a set of rules and regulations. At first both of these characteristics are found only in a very rudimentary format, as the organization develops so too does the extent and complexity of these characteristics. With the continued growth of the organization we start to see the importance of professional qualifications increase and this in turn creates a career structure within the organization.

As more and more people become involved in the organization new sub-bureaus are formed and consequently a hierarchy of authority develops. Also with the growth of the organization the time commitment of the volunteer increases and the extent of this becomes so great that this is the only "volunteer occupation" he/she can undertake.

The introduction of professional staff to help "run" the voluntary organization brings with it further bureaucratic characteristics. This person is often appointed on the basis of a contract, has a money salary and pension rights, does this job as his/her sole occupation, and is more personally free from the duties of his/her office than the average volunteer.

D. Consequences of the Bureaucratization of the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section

Over the period of the last 50-60 years the organizational structure of the CASA(AS) has been transformed from a loose amalgam of individuals interested in swimming to a corporate type of structure that exhibits several of the characteristics of a legal-rational bureaucracy. The historical emergence of this bureaucratic administrative structure has brought with it a number of social consequences which will be dealt with in this section.

Ingham(1975:351-353) saw the bureaucratization of sport organizations as an inevitable consequence of the increasing rationalization of social life. From the Weberian point of view Ingham(1975:351) argued the merits of bureaucracy when he suggested it displays a semblance of independence from ideology, it is separate from class interests and is the site of freedom of choice. We might also add to this list of bureaucratic merits Weber's own supportive words, as he suggests:

> The fully developed bureaucratic apparatus compares with other organizations exactly as does the machine with the non-mechanical modes of production. Precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of files, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material and personal costs -- these are raised to the optimum point in the strictly bureaucratic administration(1978:973).

Ingham(1975:351)does, nevertheless, note that the competing Marxist analysis suggests that bureaucracy does not act separately from class interest as it depends, for its existence, primarily on the ruling class, and it is seen to serve already existing societal forms of domination. In addition Marxist analysis sees bureaucracy as "one specific instance in the general process of alienation...[i.e., it] becomes an autonomous and oppressive force which is felt by the majority of the people as a mysterious and distant entity -- as something which, although regulating their lives, is beyond their control and comprehension, a sort of divinity in the face of which one feels helpless and bewildered"(Mouzelis, 1969:9-10).

If we examine the case of the CASA(AS) we can see that both viewpoints have merit in explaining the consequences of its bureaucratization. Adopting the Weberian point of view that sees bureaucracy as an efficient egalitarian type of social organization we find support for this argument. One of the consequences of the bureaucratization of the CASA(AS) is that it has become an extremely efficient and effective organization. Indeed one of the reasons why the organization was selected for this study was because it was seen as one of the best(if not the best) run amateur sport groups in Alberta and possibly in Canada. Evidence of the organizational quality of the CASA(AS) may be found in the number and scope of programs it runs, the financial and human resources it has available, and its success in national and international competitions in comparison to other voluntary sport organizations. Alongside these the CASA(AS) is in Weber's terms like the machine is to non-mechanical modes of production.

In terms of equality of opportunity and the freedom to participate in the activities of the CASA(AS) it will be argued later in this chapter that this is problematic. However, as Downs (1967:259) points out the word "freedom", in terms of freedom of choice, "has two very different meanings: power of choice, and absence of restraint". Downs agrees that bureaucratic organizations place far more restraints on people than other previous types of organizations did, but he also notes that the average person also enjoys a greater range of choice than in the past. If one wishes to, one could argue that this is the case in the CASA(AS). The restraints that bureaucratization has placed on involvement in swimming are mainly economic. In contrast bureaucratization has also been largely responsible for the vast increase in the number of facilities in which people can swim. At the time of the CASA(AS)'s inception only the two large urban areas of the province had swimming pools. Currently, in large part due to the efforts of the CASA(AS), every municipality of any size has at least an outdoor pool. It appears, then, that if we choose to adopt the point of view that sees one of the consequences of bureaucratization as being equality and freedom of choice, the CASA(AS) could be used as an example. We may even argue that the factor that created freedom of choice, the building of more pools, is the same one that generated increased bureaucracy, i.e., because more pools were built more competitive clubs formed and the CASA(AS) in order to deal with these clubs had to become more bureaucratic.

In the vast majority of cases the members of the CASA(AS) who were interviewed for this study adopted the type of arguments presented above. While most realized that the cost of becoming a top level swimmer could be extremely problematic for children from lower income families; few saw this as restricting access to swimming as they felt other avenues for funding were available. As Hazel Chapman explained:

> we have a bursary type of fund set up within the club and I know we have had children from one particular case, the father was disabled through an accident and they couldn't afford anything so we cover their fees and such, they did come up with some travel funds but as far as their fees they were paid and so they can still swim if they are truly interested and are going to commit themselves to the sport(Interview, March 8, 1983).

Indeed, although it was possible for swimmers to take advantage of bursaries and other schemes, few interviewees realized that the type of solutions they were using were ones that articulated with their middle class value system and way of life and that they may not be acceptable to lower income individuals. For example one scheme in effect in a number of clubs allows people who cannot afford to pay their fees to have them waived, by working extra bingos or similar ventures. Those who can afford to pay can have their bingo responsibilities waived by paying more money than is required for fees. Aside from the obvious social stigma that this type of system can bring about the social consequences are obvious. Those who are required to put in the extra bingo time are those least likely to have this discretionary time available because of their role in the labour force.

In summary, the position adopted by the members of the CASA(AS) for the most part concurs with the Weberian idea that bureaucracy is an efficient, non-discriminatory type of social organization. In part these views are supported in that in the case of the CASA(AS) bureaucratization has increased the organization's efficiency. It can also be argued that it has made the organization more egalitarian by providing a greater range of choice. In addition the bureaucracy of the CASA(AS) has created mechanisms for making swimming more egalitarian. However, what supporters of this approach often fail to consider are the social consequences of such programs and because of this they are rarely as effective as they could be.

If we turn our attention to an examination of the bureaucratization of the CASA(AS) from a more Marxian point of view we find problems with this type of social structure. Marx's main critique of bureaucracy was that under capitalism it was essentially "an instrument by which the dominant class exercises its domination over the other social classes"(Mouzelis, 1969:9). In part this domination comes about from the authority structure and the division of labour prevalent under capitalism which spills over into other spheres of social life such as the administration of amateur sport.

In the case of the CASA(AS) this division of labour and the ensuing authority structure first began to emerge with any degree of impact in the mid- to late 1950's. As these concepts and their development are dealt with in more detail later in the section on class inequality, it should suffice here to say that the ensuing result was that upper level executive positions in the CASA(AS) became the exclusive domain of management-type individuals who had gained necessary prerequisite skills through their employment. As such the bureaucratic structure of the CASA(AS) served to enforce the existing class structure of capitalist society.

Another way in which the bureaucratization of the CASA(AS) has perpetuated class domination is through bureaucracy's emphasis on the attainment of a single goal. In the case of the CASA(AS) this goal is to produce elite swimmers. Since this process is expensive for the potential elite swimmer it has the effect of restricting the attainment of this goal to those from the upper class. So the bureaucratic apparatus may be seen to serve to perpetuate existing class domination.

In summary, what we have suggested is that if we view bureaucracy from the Marxist perspective, i.e., bureaucracy serves to perpetuate existing class domination, we find in the CASA(AS) support for this point of view. The factors which may be seen to perpetuate this class domination are the division of labour and authority structure that exists in a bureaucracy and the emphasis that this type of social organization puts on goal attainment.

To conclude this section we may suggest that depending on which theoretical perspective we take we can see different consequences of bureaucratization. The main functional consequences are that this type of structure is efficient and can lead to greater freedom of choice for the individual. The main dysfunctional consequences are that bureaucracy serves to perpetuate the existing class structure of society and as such it restricts the involvement of certain groups of individuals. Also by its emphasis of elite performance the CASA(AS) restricts its involvement, for the most part, to those who are interested in competition as opposed to life long participation.

E. Gender Inequality in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section.

The fact that women are underrepresented in the administration of amateur sport is well documented (cf, Hall and Richardson, 1982:63). Studies by Bratton, 1970; Beamish, 1978; Hollands and Gruneau, 1979; Theberge, 1980; and Slack, 1981 have all sampled different groups involved in executive positions in voluntary sport organizations and all found a significantly lower percentage of women than men involved in this type of activity. The data from these studies are supported by a recent Federal Government document entitled Women in Sport Leadership (1982). Information in this report indicates that at the national level women comprised only

18% of the board members and 30% of the committee members of sport governing bodies. At the provincial level women were similarly represented with 26% of all board member positions, 31% of executive member positions and 32% of the chairperson's positions.

In the case of the CASA(AS) data would appear to indicate that women are similarly underrepresented; this is evidenced by the following findings.

1. Since its inception in 1928 there have been 19 presidents of the CASA(AS), of these 19 only 2 have been women. One of these women held the presidency during the war years when very few men were available.
2. On only two occasions since its incorporation in 1963 have there been more women than men on the executive council (later the Board of Directors) and in both cases the figures showed the number of females to be only one more than the number of males. For example in the last four years since 1980 the figures are: 1980, 6 males, 2 females; 1981, 6 males, 4 females; 1982, 6 males, 4 females; 1983, 5 males, 5 females.
3. A preliminary analysis of section records showed most women stayed involved in the organization for a shorter period of time than their male counterparts.

When we consider the above facts in relation to the number of participants in swimming, women's underrepresentation in administrative positions is further emphasized. For example, in the current year we find that in winter clubs there are 830 registered male swimmers and 831 females. In summer clubs there are 995 males and 1,272 females. No figures from previous years were available, but executive director Bob Burns pointed out that this year's figures were fairly representative. He noted:

> There have generally been more girls than boys but not a great deal more(Interview, March 24th, 1983).

In spite of these facts, and others like them that emanated from the previously mentioned research, few, if any, studies have attempted to show why these inequalities exist in voluntary sport organizations. One approach to this type of explanation is to examine some of the constraints to women's involvement that have been identified by researchers studying corporate organizations and to see if these apply to volunteer sport organizations. It is, nevertheless, only fair at this time to note that in the CASA(AS) no interviewee, male or female, pointed to any conscious discrimination against women. Rather, what will be presented, are details of the structural constraints that operate within the organization and prevent proportionate female participation.

One of the most frequent problems women face in corporate organizations, and one of the ones most often mentioned in this study, was the sextyping of positions. Essentially this may be taken to mean that certain jobs within the voluntary organization were considered male jobs and others were female jobs. As Sue Mason, a member of the executive, explained:

> With men I think the kind of things they get involved in are more the administrative things and I think women tend to get into the "detaily" things like billeting, and on the phone, will you do this? Will you take three kids this weekend? (Interview, February 28th, 1983).

The type of positions filled by women were, as Mason notes, ones concerned with activities like billeting, keeping records, being team manager, chaperoning, fund raising and secretarial tasks. Essentially these are the type of positions, within the organization, that carry little power and do not demand a high level of leadership skills. Men, on the other hand, usually held the key leadership positions such as President, Vice-President or Treasurer. Consequently it was men who held the power in the organization. Women were assigned their tasks because "they were more thorough", and "good at detail". The tasks were often tied to women's traditional role, i.e., they could be done from the home such as phoning, secretarial work, etc. or they had direct involvement with children such as team manager, chaperone, billet organizer. The number of women in administrative positions increased at the lower organizational level, i.e., there were more women at club level than at regional level and more at regional level than at section level. For example, most clubs had a proportional representation of women on their boards; however, most presidents were male. This phenomenon may be explained by the fact that at the lower levels there were more tasks that were akin to women's traditional role. For example, billeting although carried out at section level, is a more frequent occurrence at club level. Also, at this level there is more personal contact with the children.

As well as limiting the type of positions women take in the organization this sextyping into traditional type tasks also limits the amount of time women stay involved. Sue Mason explained:

> Women don't last as long as men...I am not saying that they are not interested, it's just that they find other things to do when their kids get out, like I did this for the children but now it's sort of time for me to move on...But if you look at the Board of Directors you have a number of men who are still involved although their children haven't been involved for quite some time(Interview, February 28th, 1983).

The fact that men stay involved longer than women is not really surprising since they usually are given the most interesting and challenging jobs. They were often assigned these types of responsibilities because they had been able to obtain helpful prerequisite skills through their work in the labour force. Since these skills were often of the business or accounting type men were naturally assumed to be the people to fill positions in the CASA(AS) that required these kind of qualifications.

Although not directly concerning the administration of the organization, an interesting point relating to the sextyping of occupations in the CASA(AS) was raised by several interviewees, both men and women. The point being that there were very few, some said none, female starters of swim meets. Women did, however, hold the positions of timers, marshalls, stroke and turn judges and referees (the highest official at a meet). The problem could not be attributed to the fact that women did not get exposure to starting, as all people who wished to become a Master Official had to undergo a course in this, and a number of women were Master Officials.

Several explanations were offered for the situation. Stuart Bauman felt it was women's fear of guns!

> it's the idea of guns and this type of thing it just doesn't appeal to them (women) (Interview, February 21st, 1983).

Neil Case felt that:

> without electronic equipment where their voice has to carry across the pool the average woman, her voice just wouldn't carry as well as males in something like that(Interview, February 22nd, 1983).

Although this is a feasible explanation the cause of women's lack of voice may be more socially than biologically derived; women are not encouraged to learn to use a loud commanding voice like males are. Females may be more likely to assume positions like starters if they were encouraged to do this; also this would help develop self-confidence, a necessary requirement for being a starter.

A more feasible interpretation was presented by Sarah Cheam who explained the situation in terms of what is and is not traditionally considered to be socially acceptable. She suggested that:

> the starter is the position of ultimate authority, you control the race and yet funnily enough they don't object to women being referees and they are the boss on deck. I guess the image is not one that a man feels a woman should take and some women don't

feel they should(Interview, February 21st, 1983).

Another problem, similar to sextyping of positions, that women in the CASA(AS) face was assignment of tasks. In regard to this phenomenon Williams(1975:56) explains "the implication is that the same administrative job would be subtly defined differently for men than for women". She also reports the findings of a study by Rosen and Jerdee(1974) which studied discrimination in assessment of applicants for routine versus demanding jobs:

> Their study showed that there is much more discrimination against women when the job is seen as demanding and challenging. This leads to the hypothesis that women are channeled toward the routine, less challenging positions in an organization...In the long run, this may deny them the kind of experience and training they need for high-level positions which are almost always demanding. In other words, they have not been given early "boot camp" training. Therefore, they may either lack the self-confidence to take on tough assignments, or they will not have had the chance to prove themselves to their compatriots(Williams, 1975:56).

In the CASA(AS), as pointed out earlier, women generally fill certain roles and it would not be unfair to suggest that these roles are as Williams puts it "routine, less challenging positions". For the more demanding roles of President and Vice-President, people are expected to have experience. These people are usually men and they have gained their experience at the regional and club level. It should be noted, nevertheless, that as we go down the levels more women do get these type of positions but still not as often as men do. In other words, women do not get the chance to practice and refine, at the lower levels, the skills that are necessary for higher level positions. Men often obtain these skills not only at club and regional levels but also at their place of work. Sue Mason explained her feelings on the situation:

> I guess maybe men have more opportunities especially if they are successful businessmen they get used to chairing meetings and having people stand to attention and listen to them. They have the ability to speak in public and I think maybe those are just the skills that a lot of women don't get to develop and it frightens them a little. If they are involved long enough they would develop that self-confidence in themselves, in those areas, or they would maybe take something that would give them the skills, public speaking or whatever but I think maybe those are the areas where some women tend to be a little laid back(Interview, February 28th, 1983).

Obviously women are able to move through the organization to a certain point by assuming the less demanding tasks to which they are assigned. But when it comes to a choice between a man and a woman for a top level position the man tends to win out because he has more experience. Alternatively what is even more likely to happen is that the woman does not seek the position because she knows she does not have the necessary experience. This may well be the situation in the CASA(AS) for although women have only twice been President of the organization rarely have they had their names put forward for possible election.

In the case that a man does not have the experience for the job it appears he may still have an advantage over most women as Barb Keegan explains:

> a man already has credibility because he has a profession, he's such and such with a company and right away he has a certain credibility, he has to prove he is incompetent whereas women have to prove

they are competent(Interview, February 22nd, 1983).

Although these factors were the two most frequently mentioned (often not knowingly) constraints to women's involvement in the administration of the CASA(AS), there were also several other findings that emerged from the interviews. The question of collegiality is a problem that women face in moving up within the organization and also in relating to members of other organizations. Inside the organization, informal as well as formal, training is required for top jobs. Like most corporate organizations the CASA(AS) showed evidence of the existence of a mentor/protege system. Under this system a new member of the organization, a protege, learns "the skills of the trade" under an "old pro", a mentor, someone who has been in the organization for a period of time. Evidence of this is found in the fact that several interviewees noted that when they leave their position they would, or already had, sought someone out to "fill their shoes". This phenomenon was most pronounced in that several people already knew who the next President of the organization will be even though the next elections are not until 1984.

Several scenarios which may emerge if this type of situation exists can pose special problems for women. For example men hold the majority of the higher level executive positions and when they come to seek out proteges they often look for other men. Williams explains why this happens and some of the ensuing concerns for women:

> Men may not as easily recognize potential in women because it is of a different variety, or women may not be as vocal in advertising their worth. Women may wait to be sought out by mentors rather than actively seeking them out. However, some women do attach themselves to mentors. Then several other kinds of difficulties may arise. For example, the relationship may be more difficult to preserve as a strictly platonic one (sexual attachments may get involved). Even when the relationship is strictly formal, there may be more of a tendency for role task specializations to occur, modeled somewhat after male-female relationships, i.e., women may choose to perform, or may accept more readily, the supportive and maintenance function in the mentor relationship.

In the CASA(AS) while there was evidence of a mentor type of system being present in the organization it appeared that rarely (or never) did female proteges attach themselves to men. This is not to say the problem is solely one for women for rarely did men seek out a woman protege. The system seemed to function with male mentors recruiting other males to take their place. Evidence of William's latter point, role task specialization, was found in among some of the married couples who entered swimming through their children. In several cases both male and female partners contributed much time and effort to the organization. Invariably, it was the male who assumed the upper level executive position and the wife who played the supportive secretarial role.

As well as operating internally in the form of the mentor/protege system collegiality can also be a factor, which operates outside the organization, to restrict the involvement of women or for that matter any other minority group. Higher level executive members of the CASA(AS) have, as part of their job responsibilities, to meet with Government officials, national executives and international sport organization members. Since many of these people are males (cf. Women in Sport Leadership, pp.4-5) women who did gain high level positions in the CASA(AS) may experience problems of establishing collegial type relations. Kanter pointed to similar problems in the corporate organization which she studied:

> As a woman rose at Indsco she was likely to find fewer and fewer female peers whereas men found a male peer group at every level of the system...a woman manager who had been a nonexempt employee commented that 'the social part of a promotion is difficult. New managers [executives] need to make dates, to set meetings, to call people for lunch. It is more difficult for a woman to do(1977:151-152).

Rick Clay suggested that women would also experience similar problems in the CASA(AS) if they rose to top level executive positions:

> I think they [women] would lack confidence you know you are expected to go down and hassle with the minister or you have to be involved with the president of an oil company. I think it takes a while to get comfortable in that atmosphere(Interview, March 7th, 1983).

In addition to the problems mentioned by Clay it is also feasible to suggest that males who hold positions as government ministers or oil company executives would not see an organization that had a woman as one of its senior officers as being as credible as they would an organization with men in similar positions. A situation similar to that which exists with government officials, national and international sport organization members, etc. can also be seen to exist within the organization with coaches. There are very few (if any) professional women swim coaches in Canada. Although it was beyond the scope of this study to determine why this situation exists it is intuitively feasible to suggest that the same structural constraints that prevent women becoming top level executives also prevents them becoming top level coaches. What this lack of female coaches does, however, is create an additional problem for females who wish to become executive members. Since the professional coach essentially works for the executive board, this would mean that a male (coach) would have to work for a female (executive) and as Kanter(1977:198-199) has noted men do not feel comfortable working for women. Because professional coaches only exist in big clubs this situation may then create subtle pressures to the effect that these clubs should only have male (or at least predominantly male) executive boards. Since membership on the executive of one of these big clubs is usually a stepping stone to the provincial executives, women's pathways to these positions are blocked.

It appears, then, that the presence and influence of colleagues are factors that can limit the proportion of women in top level postions both within and outside the organization. Internally women have difficulty obtaining mentors to help ease their way to the top. Externally a lack of women in related organizations can make necessary collegial relationships socially difficult.

A final major factor that can limit the involvement of women in an organization like the CASA(AS) may be termed access to resources. During the course of the interviews for this study it became very apparent that many of the past and present senior executives of the CASA(AS) made great use of the resources they had at their work place to do their volunteer work. Craig Davis, a former senior member of the CASA(AS) and a top level executive with a large national corporation, provides a graphic example of this when he was asked about his use of work place resources:

> My secretary used to do all kinds of section [CASA(AS)] work, send out letters, type everything up and keep files and it was just a wonderful resource there. As a matter of fact I can remember one time, it was really quite funny, I sent a letter, a business letter, to a fellow with my company in the Head Office and she typed up at the bottom where it would usually say Craig Davis, Manager Regional Systems, she typed in Craig Davis, President of Alberta Section CASA and I sent this thing off to Toronto and never noticed it(Interview, March 26th, 1983).

Another current top level executive indicated that he frequently used his office to phone the national organization in Ottawa and the provincial office in St. Albert, both long distance calls. Since these people use these resources frequently they come to be a major requirement for obtaining the job. As very few women hold these types of top level corporate jobs they do not have access to the resources that go with them, so consequently they are at a disadvantage when it comes to obtaining top level volunteer positions.

In sum, it appears that the constraints women face in progressing in corporate organizations spill over to their volunteer work. Lack of corporate experience means women are assigned traditionally female not managerial type roles which are usually non-challenging and demand they be reactive rather than pro-active. It also means women are not able to create networks within and between organizations, both volunteer and corporate, that would help them in their roles. Finally it means women do not have access to work place resources that can help them with successfully undertaking their volunteer tasks.

F. Class Inequality in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association , Alberta Section

In the studies that have been undertaken on Canadian voluntary sport organizations (cf. Bratton, 1970; Beamish, 1978; Hollands and Gruneau, 1979; Theberge, 1980 and Slack, 1981) it has been "unequivocally shown that (these) associations reflect the normative order of authority, and no matter what indicator or combination of socioeconomic status (SES) indicators are used, there is a direct relationship between SES and participation"(Beamish,1983:4). This direct relationship that Beamish refers to is such that the higher the SES of the person the more likely is his/her participation, particularly at the executive level, in a voluntary sport organization.

The Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section is no exception to this statement and several factors confirm the upper socioeconomic class status of executive members.

1. All the current executive members, who were interviewed for this study, indicate that they saw their colleagues coming predominantly (some said exclusively) from the upper middle and upper socioeconomic classes.
2. In the process of collecting data for this study most interviews were conducted in the executive's home or place of work. The quality of these locations indicated a high socioeconomic status.
3. The occupations held by executive members, e.g. oil company executives, owner of one or more business concerns, university professor, etc. also confirmed a high socioeconomic status.
4. The fact that swimming is an expensive sport and nearly all members of the executive had children involved indicates a relatively secure financial position.
5. The fact that most executive members indicated they rarely claimed travel, meals or accommodation expenses from the organization also suggests a higher level of socioeconomic status.

Despite the insights gained from completed research only two previously mentioned studies by Beamish(1978) and Hollands and Gruneau(1979) have attempted to explain their findings in a theoretically informed manner. The Hollands and Gruneau study is the most comprehensive and these researchers suggest four causes for the unequal class representation found in the executive of voluntary sport organizations. These four causes are the advantageous social position that these executives start from, the practice of social closure, the existing authority structure of our capitalist society, and the manufacturing division of labour which has become increasingly prevalent in our society (Beamish's study also deals with this latter point). What this section will attempt to do is build on Hollands and Gruneau's conclusions to determine if, in a study such as this, their analysis is confirmed. In addition data will also be presented to demonstrate that the bureaucratic structure the CASA(AS) is moving towards also serves to maintain the advantaged position that certain socioeconomic groups find themselves in.

It is Hollands and Gruneau's contention that as amateur sport has developed so too have the problems of administration become more complex, so much so that today sport volunteers need access to certain personal resources and skills if they are going to be successful in their roles. Since not all people have equal access to these types of resources those who do usually fulfill the top positions. One of the ways in which people gain access to these required resources is if they start from a socially advantageous position, i.e., their parents have access to the resources that are able to give them a "headstart" in our social system. These resources not only take the form of economic advantages but as Hollands and Gruneau point out children of middle and upper class parents:

> ...are frequently the recipients of a certain measure of "cultural capital" as well. This cultural capital tends to take the form of an acceptance of the school system and its demands,...and an understanding of the desirability of "identifying" with the school and community through voluntary participation in various clubs and societies (emphasis added)(1979:28).

This class reproduction through "transfer of capital or property and access to cultural capital" means that those who start from a socially advantaged position probably have available to them some of the resources necessary to function in an executive position with a voluntary sport organization. Also those type of people are the ones who readily volunteer when needed in the sport organization, for, as Hollands and Gruneau pointed out, they see the social desirability of such voluntary participation.

In this study no assessment was made of the social origins of the executive members of the CASA(AS) so it is not possible to provide strong evidence to support Gruneau and Holland's idea. Notwithstanding this two factors do indicate that several executive members may have come from middle or upper class families. First, some of the executive members indicate that they had assumed their current positions by taking over a family business. Second, the majority of the executive members had attained a university education. When we consider that the average age of the executive members was 45+ years and that when they were of normal university age it was predominantly the middle- and upper class families that were able to enroll their children in university we can tentatively deduce that executive members came from the higher socioeconomic levels.

As stated above this evidence is by no means conclusive but it does tend to support the idea of executive members coming from socially advantaged positions. What is suggested is that further data on this topic would help support the hypothesis.

The second cause that Hollands and Gruneau see, for the class inequality in the executive of voluntary sport organizations, is the practice of social closure:

> Social closure is "the process by which social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to rewards and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles"(Parkin,1974:3). An important feature of social closure in the professions has been an increasing emphasis on proper "credentials" for membership.... There is some evidence of increasing "credentialism" in the selection of coaches, technical personnel and consultants in Canadian sport circles, and it seems reasonable to assume that some of the mystique of professional credentials has "spilled over" into the voluntary sphere of sport administration as well (Hollands and Gruneau, 1979:29).

In the case of the CASA(AS) it would appear that several forms of social closure do work to limit the involvement of lower class individuals in the top executive positions. Although not a conscious attempt to discriminate against underclass individuals, the actions of former President, John Hamilton, did have this effect. As outlined in the first section of this chapter, Hamilton actively recruited "people of management calibre" and thus effectively limited the involvement of certain social groups in the CASA(AS). Further to this, once these "management calibre people" are in the organization they tend to practice a form of selective recruitment. Essentially this may be taken to mean that as Kerr points out "incumbents in the managerial hierarchy seek as new recruits those they can rely upon and trust"(1960:147). These new recruits are usually people who possess the same social characteristics as the incumbent, since they are seen as fitting in better and causing less internal organizational conflict. If the incumbents are middle and upper class individuals then the recruits tend to be from the same socioeconomic strata. As well as social closure through the process of selective recruitment the increasing bureaucratization of the CASA(AS) has also brought about another form of the phenomenon. One of the characteristics of bureaucracy is a clear specification of the function of the offices of the organization. With this comes the demand for specialized skills to fill these offices. In the CASA(AS) these skills, are predominantly managerial type skills as Stuart Bauman points out:

> they [the executive members] have to have organizational abilities, they have to have the ability to supervise and lead people any time you get into an executive position you have to have leadership qualities(Interview, February 21, 1983).

Since only certain individuals possess these types of skills, usually the people who can gain them through their place of work, involvement is again restricted.

The final aspect of social closure deals with the increasing emphasis in the CASA(AS) on "credentialism". Since 1959 when Jack Billingsley introduced into the organization standard tests for officials there has been a steady increase in the availability of such qualifications. Since the nature of these qualifications is usually such that they articulate with the knowledges, training and interests of the middle and upper classes it is usually these people who do well in them and subsequently underclass individuals are underrepresented in posts requiring these qualifications.

The third factor that Hollands and Gruneau feel contributes to class inequality in voluntary sport organizations is the existing authority structure of our capitalist society. They explain that:

> ...because manual or clerical workers occupy a position in the labour process that is defined by the social relations of production they are not in a position to control effectively the labour process itself. By contrast as Giddens notes:"in so far as administrative workers participate in the framing or merely the enforcement of authoritative commands they tend to be separated from the manual workers who are subject to their commands". Thus, because authority tends to flow unilaterally in business relations, the manual workers possess (or is seen to possess) little skill in the planning and execution of policy decisions made in his work environment (1979:30).

Since skills of planning and policy execution are becoming increasingly important in amateur sport it is therefore not surprising to see an underrepresentation of manual workers. In fact, as pointed out earlier, in the CASA(AS) executive members are actively recruited because they possess these necessary types of skills. As well as bringing about an emphasis on skill differentiation the existing authority structure of the workplace under capitalism also means that those individuals who hold administrative positions have access to resources that manual workers are denied. Phil Haggerty explains:

> they [manual type workers] have to be at work they can't leave during the day whereas...the white collar workers are more likely to be able to come late, go early, leave in between and use their telephone, use their secretary all those kinds of things in support of whatever their amateur sport endeavor is. Whereas the guy that works in the factory, the plant or the store, it is pretty difficult because someone is always looking at him to see whether he is on the job...(Interview, February 23, 1983).

As Haggerty points out, access to these resources and the time flexibility of a white collar job allow people in these type of positions to more effectively fill their role with the voluntary sport organization. Since manual workers cannot use similar resources and since the time limits of the work place restrict their freedom, these people face problems in assuming top level executive positions. In short as Gruneau and Hollands(1979:30) suggest the "carry over effect" of authority relations from the work place to other areas of social participation...can be seen to exist in the voluntary sport organization.

The final limit to underclass representation in voluntary sport organizations, that Hollands and Gruneau suggest, stems from the manufacturing division of labour so prevalent in our capitalist society. As Beamish points out:

> Marx demonstrated in the first chapter of Capital that, as pre-capitalist forms of production are replaced by production based on capital, fundamental changes occur within the labour process and in the relationship between workers and owners of the means of production(1978:16).

These changes are of the nature that tasks which, in pre-capitalist society were unitary and required both hand and head labour are under capitalism broken up, i.e., the necessity of the production of surplus value (profit) demands a division of labour. In the CASA(AS) the original charismatic type of structure was representative of organization in pre-capitalist society where the workers (organization members) were involved in all aspects of the labour process (developing swimmers). As the CASA(AS) took on a more bureaucratic structure the labour process of the organization has started to be more akin to the labour process prevalent under bureaucracy's economic counterpart -- capitalism. Essentially this may be taken to mean that there has been an increased division of the essential organizational tasks and consequently a separation of hand and head labour. Although this division of labour began a few years after the organization's inception it did not become large enough to have an impact until the late 1950's when the number and complexity of organizational tasks made such a process necessary. What happened in the CASA(AS) was that prior to the division of labour organization members had, for the most part, been involved in all phases of swimming, e.g. planning meets, setting policy, timing, judging, marshalling swimmers and so on. With the increased size and complexity of the organization, which started in the late 1950's, these previously complex and involved procedures were eliminated and members were no longer required to be involved in all phases but instead they concentrated on one or two areas. A smaller, allegedly more skilled group, took on such tasks as planning and policy making while a larger group took on the more "manual type of work", e.g. timing, scoring, marshalling, etc. In addition it was this smaller group of people at the top who make the rules for the larger group to function by, therefore, once again the separation of hand and head labour is reinforced. As Beamish notes:

> The one-time unity of hand and head labour in the productive process is separated so that planning is undertaken by a small group of workers in one place while the manual production is done in another by a second larger group of workers(1978:16).

The long term consequences of the separation of hand and head labour, or what Braverman(1974:50) has called the conception and execution of tasks, were on the positive side cost reduction and efficiency. On the negative side the human consequences of such a set of social relations were that opportunity to become involved in such processes as the administration of the CASA(AS) was limited to a narrow section of the society.

In summary, what we can say is that the four causes that Hollands and Gruneau put forward to explain class inequality in voluntary sport organizations appear to be supported by this study on the CASA(AS). Although little data were available on the social origins of executive members some evidence indicates several came from socially advantaged positions. In terms of the practice of social closure several forms appear to be consciously or subconsciously practiced. Finally, the authority structure and division of labour prevalent in our society and evidenced in the CASA(AS) means that top level executive positions are only available to those who have attained the necessary prerequisite skills.

In addition to the four causes of class inequality presented by Hollands and Gruneau, another factor that can maintain and reinforce patterns of lower class involvement in voluntary sport organizations is the bureaucratic nature of those organizations. When a bureaucracy like the CASA(AS) has the responsibility to serve all socioeconomic groups, as this organization does being the governing body of swimming in the province, it still tends to recruit its executive from the bigger, richer clubs, which frequently service the middle and upper classes. Evidence of this is provided by the fact that eight of the ten current directors of the CASA(AS) come from these type of clubs. Since these people through their involvement in the executive, gain immediate access to information or programs, funding opportunities, development programs, and so on they are able to more easily convey this to their clubs who in turn benefit. Also these people are in a good position to lobby for the clubs when it comes to hosting clinics, staging meets or developing new programs, all of which can help the club develop. By contrast, smaller, less affluent, clubs attract less affluent people who do not gain influence on the executive and consequently the "culture of poverty" is reproduced.

In addition to the recruitment of executives the nature of the bureaucracy's goals can also reinforce the class system. As a part of the CASA, one of the Alberta Section's main goals is to help "make Canada number 1 in swimming in the world by 1990". To achieve this goal the CASA(AS) has focused much of its efforts on developing top level swimmers. Since the cost of being a top level swimmer is high these people come mainly from the middle and upper classes.

Since they have the resources these individuals can afford to pay the top level coaches, attend training camps and travel to competitions, consequently they are more attractive as "clients" than lower class individuals who would require more organizational subsidization. Also because middle and upper class swimmers do better their parents are encouraged to stay involved longer and subsequently assume executive positions. By contrast if the bureaucracy's goal structure was such that it was equally available to the lower socioeconomic class then people from this strata of society may be more encouraged to intensify and lengthen their involvement in the organization.

A final aspect of the bureaucratic structure of the CASA(AS) that can limit the involvement of the lower class is that these people have difficulty understanding and dealing with the normative order of such a system. For example, middle and upper class individuals because they often work in the higher levels of a bureaucracy learn how to use bureaucratic rules to their benefit and how to manipulate the bureaucracy's political system so they can achieve their goals, e.g. gaining an executive position in the organization. Lower class individuals, on the other hand, do not usually gain this type of experience with the operation of the upper levels of bureaucracy from their work place. Consequently they are generally overwhelmed by the dynamics of this type of structure, so if they do desire to obtain an executive position they rarely have the political know how to function in the organizational structure.

In conclusion, what the latter part of this section has attempted to show is that the bureaucratic structure of the CASA(AS) serves to maintain and reinforce class inequalities within the organization. Three examples were presented to illustrate this point. First, the recruitment of executive members perpetuates existing inequalities. Second, the goal structure of the organization favors the higher socioeconomic classes. Finally the rules and political requirements that govern social mobility in the bureaucracy are difficult for lower class individuals to handle.

G. The Acquisition of Power in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section

The specific sub-problem with which this section is concerned is to identify how those people or organizational sub-units that are seen to be powerful within the CASA(AS) acquire this status. One of the problems associated with any study of power is to arrive at a definition of the concept. In the study of organizations, of any type, power is often confused with the concept of authority. Authority is, nevertheless, different from power in that is is legally sanctioned by rules and regulations as Bierstedt(1950:723) points out "authority is institutionalized power".

In voluntary sport organizations the rules and regulations of the group provide higher level executive members with authority, but this authority, because of the nature of voluntary groups, is sometimes difficult to exercise. Bierstedt explains:

> In rigidly organized groups this authority is clearly specified and formally articulated by norms (rules, statutes, laws) of the association. In less rigidly organized groups penumbral areas appear in which authority is less clearly specified and articulated. Sometimes authority clearly vested in associational status may not be exercised because it conflicts with a moral norm to which both members and non-members of the association adhere in the surrounding community(1950:734).

In voluntary sport organizations it is questionable as to whether or not authority is exercised because "it conflicts with moral norms". It is, however, feasible to suggest that it is not exercised because individuals in a voluntary organization participate of their own volition.

Because of the voluntary nature of participation in the organization:

> ...it sometimes comes to be a matter of unwise policy for an official to exercise the authority which is specifically vested in his position, and it is in these cases that we can clearly see power leaking into the joints of associational structure and invading the formal organization (Bierstedt, 1970:734).

As Bierstedt also points out this is not to say that even rigidly organized groups are free from these power invasions. The point being made here is that although the concepts of authority and power are often used synonymously, the freedom to choose to participate which is prevalent in a voluntary sport organization means that often authority is not exercised and the social relationships of the organization are founded on power.

Although several definitions of power have been formulated, given the above, the one that best fits the study of voluntary organizations is one of the type proposed by Kanter, 1977 and Salancik and Pfeffer, 1977. These researchers propose that power should be defined in terms of the potential to achieve goals. In this study both Salancik and Pfeffer's and Kanter's definitions of power could have been used, but since it was seen as slightly more all encompassing the Kanter definition was selected. She defines power as "the ability to get things done, to mobilize resources and to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet" (Kanter, 1977:166).

Studies on power in organizations has basically been of two types. Some researchers have chosen to examine the behavioral variables that influence power, while others have examined the structural aspects of the organization that enhance or restrict the acquisition of power. In this study, because of its sociological nature, emphasis was placed on structural sources of power.

In research that has examined the structural determinants of power several sources have been identified. Four of the most frequently occurring are: access to resources; the control of uncertainty; "non substitutability" of activities; and centrality of activity. In this study each of these potential sources of power will be examined to determine how applicable it is as a source of power in the voluntary sport organization. The members of the CASA(AS) who were interviewed were asked to identify those individuals or organizational sub-units that they saw as being powerful in the organization. The Kanter explanation of power was given. Interviewees were also asked how it was that these people or sub-units came to be powerful.

Although several individuals and groups were cited, by far the most frequently and emphatically mentioned were three individuals: John Hamilton; Helen Jones; and Phil Haggerty; and one organizational sub-unit, the coaches. It is interesting and important to note that in the case of all three individuals that each had been president of the organization. It is hard to determine whether or not they gained the Presidency because they were powerful, or whether they became powerful because they were president. In all likelihood both factors had an interacting effect. Notwithstanding this, those who were asked to distinguish between personal and positional power suggested that it was the person who was seen as powerful. Another interesting point regarding these three individuals is that although Hamilton and Haggerty were unequivocally described as powerful, Jones, the only female, was often described using euphemisms for power such as "knows sport well", "well respected" or "somewhat powerful". An extract from the interview with Harry Martin exemplifies this:

> Interviewer: From your knowledge of the Alberta Section could you pick out some people or groups you would term powerful? Power meaning the ability to get things done...
> Martin: Phil [Haggerty], John Hamilton, I don't know whether you would say Helen is powerful but she certainly is well respected and well liked.
> Interviewer: What makes Phil Haggerty and John Hamilton powerful and Helen Jones well respected? why did you use a different term?
> Martin: I don't know really whether I can answer that you have got me in a corner.
> Interviewer: I am not trying to trap you.
> Martin: No, you've got me because you are quite right. I guess I am a Chauvinist....She [Helen] has all the same qualities as the others but she seems to come across differently(Interview, February 22, 1983).

While it is quite possible that as Martin admits he is somewhat chauvinistic in his attitude he was no different from several men and women in the organization who saw the acquisition of power as a male domain. This fact in itself, while it may not greatly help males acquire power, certainly poses problems for women who aspire to power positions within the organization. Because it is hard for many people to associate power with females their attempts to secure these types of positions may not be taken as seriously as similar endeavors by males.

In the case of all three individuals the main reason given for their power was access to resources. Pfeffer explains the importance of access to resources:

> ...organizations as open social systems, require a continuing provision of resources and a continuing cycle of transactions with the environment from which these resources are derived. Organizations require personnel, money, social legitimacy, customers and a variety of technological and material inputs in order to continue to function. Some of these resources are relatively more critical to the organization's operation than are others and some are relatively more difficult to obtain than others. Those sub-units or individuals within the organization that can provide the most difficult to obtain resources come to have power in the organization(1981:101).

The types of resources that Haggerty, Hamilton and Jones were seen to possess were information, business backgrounds and political contacts. Although others were mentioned these were the main three cited by interviewees.

Mechanic, 1962; Pettigrew, 1972 and Kanter, 1977 have all outlined the importance of access to information as a source of power. In this study Hamilton, Haggerty and Jones were all seen as being powerful; in part, because they had access to this type of resource. The information that these people had was acquired through successful long-time involvement at the club, provincial, national and international levels. This involvement not only meant that these people acquired information on their way through the ranks, but they also made numerous contacts that, if they did not have the information, could provide them with it. Another factor that helped these individuals gain information about swimming was that they all had children, Hamilton had five and Jones eight, who had been reasonably successful swimmers. Because their children had progressed through the ranks from age group swimming (to Olympic medalists in Jones case), these people had been exposed to many of the "ins and outs" of swimming. Moreover they had been able to establish many contacts who were capable of providing information to them.

With ready access to important information these people were more able to assess alternatives when important decisions were to be made. They could also, through their knowledge, help save the organization time, effort and money in their ventures. Finally, because they often had information about higher levels of organization, national and international bodies, this gave these people a type of associated status. All these factors and probably others which came about through access to information had the effect of conferring power on the information holder.

As well as access to information about swimming another means by which these people were able to acquire their power was through their business backgrounds. Both Hamilton and Haggerty had successful business experiences. Jones, although not having a similar background, was seen as possessing skills in this area. With the increasing bureaucratization of the CASA(AS) it had become particularly important for its upper level executives to have access to this type of personal resource. As Sarah Cheam outlined when describing why she felt Phil Haggerty was a powerful person in the organization:

> It's just the mere fact that he is an executive. He's not the kind to sit in the back of the room and say nothing. He's going to express his opinion, he's going to express it strongly and have it well researched....The fact that he's in a very responsible position in his employment, there is a certain amount of self-confidence, self-assurance that goes with being in that type of position....He has the ability to handle people, the ability to delegate work, the ability to assess suggestions, decide which ones have to be acted on and those that can be ignored, and there are a lot that can be ignored. Being an executive he knows the difference between the two, just because an idea happens to be slightly outlandish, it shouldn't be overlooked. He knows the difference. He has the confidence to make that kind of judgement(Interview, February 21, 1983).

As well as those executive qualities outlined by Cheam, other interviewees felt that people who had business backgrounds as a resource they could call on, would also be better because "they understood organizations", "they knew how to long range plan" and "they understood government". All these qualities were seen as being beneficial to functioning in the CASA(AS) and consequently they became a power-giving resource.

In addition to the qualities that went along with a successful business background this type of experience also conferred power on an executive in the fact that he/she (usually a he) could call on the resources they had in their office to help them do their volunteer work. Details of this type of resource utilization are mentioned earlier in this chapter. It is interesting to note, however, that few people consciously recognized this. For example, when Helen Jones described why she thought Rick Clay might be seen as a powerful person in the organization she noted:

> I think he's good. He is a doer. I think he is a very clear thinking guy. He has no public relations skills but he's a tremendous worker with tremendous administrative skills. He is a chartered accountant who owns his own Mini-Computer Company, he is the treasurer for the Alberta Section he is doing a job that most people would hire Thorne Ridell [an accounting company] to do, but because of his mini-computers he can zap out a monthly financial statement, [it's] just great! His financial report tells us where we are going and if we have done a job and so on. He has kept Alberta Section on track so well, he says you are over budget here and under budget here, here's what you have to do. It's just super that he's the treasurer(Interview, February 17, 1983).

The final resource that was seen as conferring power upon members of the CASA(AS) was political contacts. Since many of the funds for the CASA(AS) come from government departments or related agencies, it was important that the organization have contacts in these bodies. Members who had these contacts could help the organization secure funds and since money is a very important resource these people came to gain power within the organization. Sue Mason explained this as she related why Phil Haggerty was powerful:

> He knows the right people to talk to and if you want to talk to the government he is the man that will do it for you...he has been able to help with applications for funding, it always helps to know the right people(Interview, February 28, 1983).

As well as political contacts with government bodies, these people, through their experience, were also able to build up similar contacts with national and international swimming organizations. These were advantageous in the fact that they helped these people to secure for the CASA(AS), programs, top level coaches and competitions. Since all these were desirable assets for the organization, those who helped secure them acquired power.

The fact that Hamilton, Haggerty and Jones had access to resources also meant that they were the people within the organization that could control uncertainty. Hickson *et al.*(1971:219) define uncertainty as "a lack of information about future events so that alternatives and outcomes are unpredictable". It is not the uncertainty itself that confers power, but the ability to cope with these uncertainties. In any organization these are environmentally derived uncertainies. However, in a voluntary organization the relatively unstable nature of the organization makes the ability to cope with uncertainty even more important. In the CASA(AS), for example, one of the main sources of operating funds is government. If these funds were terminated the organization would have severe problems. Because government requires detailed submissions about the organization before it grants monies those people who have the knowledge to prepare these documents are the ones who can secure funds and thus ensure a more certain future for the organization. As a result of this ability to prevent uncertainty these people are seen as powerful.

Yet another factor that conferred power on Hamilton, Haggerty and Jones was the fact that their knowledges and skills were not easily substituted for, i.e., these people could not be easily replaced. As Mechanic(1962:358) points out "other factors remaining constant a person difficult to replace will have greater power than a person easily replaceable". Hamilton, Haggerty and Jones held this "non-substitutable" position because the type of resources they had acquired were ones that were not easily available and they were also ones that had taken a number of years to build up. In addition, the resources these people had, e.g. contacts and past experiences were not ones, like money, that could be easily passed on to others or easily documented so that others could learn from them. One example of the non-substitutability of Hamilton, Haggerty and Jones is that from 1972 until 1984, a twelve year period, these will be the only people who will hold the President's position.

As well as their access to resources, the fact that they could help cope with uncertainty and were not easily replaced , Hamilton, Haggerty and Jones also gained some degree of power because the activities they engaged in were central to the administration of the CASA(AS). Hickson et al. (1971:221) have suggested that "there is the idea that the activities of the sub-unit (individual) are central if they are connected with many other activities in the organization... secondly, the activities of a sub-unit (individual) are central if they are essential in the sense that their cessation would quickly impede the primary workflow of the organization". It is hard to quantitatively assess the extent to which the activities of Hamilton, Haggerty and Jones interlinked with other parts of the organization and affected the workflow of the group. It would seem feasible, nevertheless, since they all at various times throughout their career with the CASA(AS) had held most of the major positions, including president and currently they were past president, president and chairperson of officials, to suggest that the tasks that they performed fulfilled these criteria.

In addition to Hamilton, Haggerty and Jones several of the interviewees also pointed out an organizational sub-unit that they felt was powerful, the coaches. Using the four criteria previously mentioned it is easy to see why this group was selected. First, in terms of access to resources the coaches are the people who control the organization's primary resource, the swimmers. Coaches control when swimmers train, where they compete, what they eat and sometimes those with whom they socialize. Since swimmers are obviously so vital to the organization, they are, in essence, its product. The control coaches have over this product makes them very powerful people. As well as control of the end product of the organization's endeavors the coaches also control, in large part, the means of production, i.e., the training of the swimmers. Since this process is very specialized and requires access to information about stroke technique, interval training, tapering and so on the coaches who are knowledgeable in these areas are seen as powerful.

The role that coaches have in the CASA(AS), i.e., developing swimmers, also means that it is they who control the key element of organizational uncertainty. This uncertainty focuses on whether or not the organization will be able to produce good swimmers, and since it is coaches who control this process they are seen as being powerful. As well as controlling uncertainty coaches gain power from the fact that they cannot be easily replaced. CASA(AS) member clubs currently employ three individuals who are widely considered to be the three best coaches in Canada. As a result of the expertise they possess these people are somewhat unique, and it is this which makes them powerful. One technique that Pfeffer(1981:114) has suggested helps people retain their irreplaceable status, may be applicable to coaches, and "involves using specialized language and symbols that make the expertise look even more arcane and difficult to comprehend". While not unique to swimming this technique is consciously or subconsciously employed by swim coaches. Terms like tapering, peaking, shaving down and bilateral breathing are used everyday and although they have little relevance to the lay person, to the coaches and their swimmers they have definite meanings. As Pfeffer(1981:114) points out "jargon both facilitates communication within the field but also makes the knowledge being communicated appear to be more substantial and more difficult than it really is". If outsiders such as parents and CASA(AS) administrators perceive the coach's knowledge as being difficult to acquire, then the coach acquires power.

The final factor that confers power on the coaches is the fact that their activities are central to the purpose of the CASA(AS). In terms of the criteria presented by Hickson et al.(1971) the training of swimmers is central because it is connected to many of the other activities of the organization. In fact every other activity the CASA(AS) is involved in directly or indirectly relates to this function. Secondly, training elite competitive swimmers may be considered a central function as its cessation "would quickly and substantially impede the primary workflow of the organization". Indeed if the training of swimmers was terminated there would be little need for any of the other organizational functions to continue. On the basis of these criteria it would not be unfair to suggest that the training of swimmers is the most important and therefore most central function of the CASA(AS). As a consequence of the role coaches have in this training they become the recipients of power.

In summary, three individuals and one organizational sub-group were seen as being powerful in the CASA(AS). The way in which power was acquired was through the individuals' and sub-groups' access to resources and consequently their ability to provide the organization with some degree of certainty. Also, power was obtained because neither the three individuals nor the coaching sub-group could be easily replaced and each participated in activities that were more or less central to the purpose of the organization.

H. The Centralization of Power in the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section

The concept centralization refers to the way that power is distributed in an organization. In voluntary sport organizations both Beamish (1978), at the national level, and Slack(1981), at the provincial level, have shown that power tends to be concentrated in the major urban areas. In part this is due to the fact that the executive members, i.e., those individuals who control the decision-making processes and thus control a large portion of the power in the organization, tend to be concentrated in these urban areas. In the CASA(AS) we find a similar situation, the board of directors are powerful because, in the main, they control the decision-making process. In turn, the vast majority come from Edmonton and Calgary, the province's two largest urban areas. What this particular section will do is offer some explanation, firstly, as to why power in a voluntary organization like the CASA(AS) is centralized and secondly, why it is centralized in the two large urban areas of the province.

One explanation as to why power in a voluntary organization like the CASA(AS) is centralized may be taken from the work of Peter Blau(1970). Blau studied the degree of centralization in 53 employment security agencies. The main finding emanating from his work was that decentralization "will occur in an organization as the risk of subordinates making incorrect decisions is reduced" (Bates,1970:175). In any bureaucratic type of organization there is a desire for rationality, consequently executives are only willing to delegate decisions that involve little or no risk in terms of their outcome. A factor that can help eliminate risk is if subordinates have a high degree of professionalism. In the case of the CASA(AS), and most voluntary sport organizations, this is not the case. The people who occupy lower level positions often demonstrate a rapid turnover; they may often be seen as lacking commitment to the organization, and they are usually the people with the least organizational experience. As a result of the characteristics (both actual and perceived) that these people possess, delegating decisions of any importance to them is seen as risky and consequently executives tend not to delegate and so power remains centralized.

Another factor that can help bring about the likelihood of decentralization is a large number of levels of hierarchical authority in an organization. The greater the distance an executive is from the lower levels of workers the harder it is for him/her to acquire the necessary knowledge to make an intelligent decision about what is happening at these levels. As a result of this inability pressure is therefore placed on the executive to delegate some of his/her responsibility to those individuals who are in closer contact with these levels. Pugh et al.(1968), in their paper on "Dimensions of Organization Structure", support the idea that hierarchy is negatively correlated with centralization, they found a zero-order correlation, of r= -.28, between the two factors. In the CASA(AS) there is a hierarchy of authority but this hierarchy has few vertical levels.

Also, as previously pointed out, tasks are accomplished not so much by delegation of authority through this hierarchy but rather by the creation of social obligations among the organizational actors. As a result of the lack of depth in the organization's hierarchy of authority, and the fact that tasks are accomplished mainly through the creation of social obligations, there is little reason for top executives to delegate power and consequently it remains centralized.

A final factor that has helped the CASA(AS) to retain a centralized power structure relates to the employment of professional staff help. As an organization grows in size, the sheer number of decisions puts increased pressure on executives to decentralize some of their power. However, at the same time increased size means decisions affect more people and their importance is heightened, so consequently executives want to control power. There are essentially two ways that have relevence for a voluntary organization that can be used to cope with this dilemma. First, an organization can increase the number of rules and regulations it has, so delegating power is less risky. To a certain extent this has happened in the CASA(AS) but because of the nature of the individuals working at the lower levels of a voluntary organization this type of solution is not always effective. The second, and often more effective solution to this problem of increased size, is to hire professional staff. Blau(1970:165) has pointed out that "the larger the proportionate size of the administrative and technical staff in an agency the less inclined is top management to delegate responsibilities to middle managers". Essentially the reason for this is that if upper level executives feel pressure to delegate power they can relieve some of that pressure by appointing staff people to handle some of their load. In this way they can delegate responsibility, but because it is delegated horizontally not vertically they still retain a centralized power structure. In the CASA(AS) it is feasible to suggest that such a situation occurred. The organization grew rapidly in size from the late 1950's to about 1970. Shortly after this the first professional staff person was hired by the organization to assume some of the duties normally done by the volunteer executive. As the organization has continued to grow, not so much quantitatively but certainly qualitatively, the number of professional staff has increased. At the present time the CASA(AS) employs 2 full-time and 1 part-time staff. Since two of these work full-time out of the organization's office and the other does a large percentage of his work through that office, the power structure of the organization has remained centralized.

In summary, to explain why a voluntary organization like the CASA(AS) shows a centralized power structure three points have been offered. First, because of the high risk involved with delegating power to lower level members, it would appear that executive officers tend to favour retaining power. Second, because the organization does not have a deep hierarchy of authority, top-level executives can more easily stay in touch with what is happening at the grass roots and therefore there is little pressure to decentralize. Finally, although the organization has grown in size executives have been able to retain a centralized power structure through the hiring of professional staff which have helped with the execution of executive functions.

Having offered a rationale as to why a voluntary organization like the CASA(AS) is centralized let us now turn our attention to the question as to why it is centralized in the larger urban areas.

The main contributing factor to power, in the CASA(AS) being centralized in the province's two large urban areas, is population size. All other factors being equal a large organization will be more powerful than a small one. The executive members of the CASA(AS) come predominantly from the bigger clubs and these clubs tend to be found in the two large urban areas of the province. The resultant of these two factors is that power in the CASA(AS) is then centralized in the two large urban areas. The questions that need to be answered are first why are the large clubs found only in the larger urban areas and secondly why are CASA(AS) executive members predominantly from these clubs.

In regard to the first question the answer again relates to population size. Approximately half of Alberta's population is equally concentrated in the two large urban areas. This means that clubs in these areas have greater resources to draw upon. While it is quite possible that in these areas more clubs form and therefore the ratio of people to clubs is less than it would be in a smaller urban area this is not presently the case. At one time, prior to the early 1970's, there was a number of small clubs in the large urban areas, but as swimming started to become more expensive and more competitive several of these small clubs realized the advantage of combining to form one big club. The ensuing large club not only had a large population base from which to obtain its primary resource swimmers but this also meant it could gain access to other resources. As Dorothy Hirsch explained when asked why the two large urban areas were powerful:

> It's because that is where the numbers are and therefore they get the swimmers then they are able

> to get professional coaches and they have got lots of parents to be volunteers(Interview, February 24, 1983).

As Hirsch points out a large population base means more swimmers and because there is a large number these people are able to generate adequate resources to obtain the services of a professional coach. Also the large number of members can contribute to a strong political lobby for improved facilities, more volunteers for fund raising, and for running major swim meets. This latter factor is important, since it takes a large number of people to run a top class swim meet only the bigger clubs are capable of doing this. As a result of their ability to put on big meets, get better facilities and so on, the big clubs get more and better swimmers and so they continue to grow. In contrast to the clubs from the large urban areas it is hard (maybe impossible) for clubs from smaller urban and rural areas to generate the population base needed to obtain adequate resources to secure a professional coach, a top class facility and to stage major meets. Consequently these clubs do not grow to be as large as the clubs in the bigger urban areas.

As a result of their size and the ensuing quality of swimmers, coaches, officials, facilities and meets the large urban clubs are the most successful clubs. Because of their success it is to these clubs that the provincial organization usually turns to when it needs executive members. So what we see is a predominance of these people from the large urban areas on the provincial executive. As well as their involvement in successful clubs other factors make it more likely that people from the larger urban areas will be executive members of the CASA(AS). For example, the majority of businesses are situated in the larger urban areas. Since the CASA(AS) has emphasized that a strong management background is desirable for an executive position it is more likely that these people will be recruited from the major urban areas. Also the main agencies with which a swimming organization has to communicate, i.e., Sport Alberta, the Provincial Government, Universities, and so on, are usually found in the larger urban areas. Consequently if the executives of the organizations live in these urban areas it is easier for them to work with these agencies.

In summary, the basic answer to our question as to why the CASA(AS) is centralized in the two major areas of the province is size, specifically the size of the population base. This allows clubs in these areas to develop other resources which lead to a successful club. As a result of this success executives from these areas are recruited onto the provincial executive as a partial consequence of which power becomes centralized in the larger urban areas.

I. The Organizational Environment of the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section

The final section of this chapter will examine the organizational environment of the CASA(AS). Hall(1982:219) suggests that in recent years the organizational environment appears to have been rediscovered. While books like Lawrence and Lorsch's(1967)Organization and Environment; Pfeffer and Salancik's(1978)The External Control of Organizations and Aldrich's(1979)Organizations and Environments are evidence of this resurgence of interest, it is fair to say that the study of the environments of voluntary organizations has been sadly neglected. Like other areas of the literature which examines the sociology of organizations, this void is further emphasized when we consider voluntary organizations that have as their purpose the development of amateur sport. What this section will attempt to do is to show, albeit briefly, how the CASA(AS) has interacted with its environment and how this has affected the organization. Since a total analysis of any organizational environment is extremely complex and requires extensive data on organizations and individuals in the environment as well as the organization under study, this research will, for illustrative purposes, only present some of the most significant organization/environment interactions. It is hoped that these will serve to illustrate the utility of such an analysis for future researchers studying the social development of voluntary sport organizations.

Hall(1977:303) has suggested the environmental conditions that affect the organization can be divided up into two categories, "general conditions" and "specific environmental influences". The first category includes such influences as political conditions, legal conditions, technological conditions and so on. In this study we will examine how these conditions have influenced the CASA(AS). Hall's second category, "specific environmental influences", includes other organizations or individuals with which the focal organization, in this case the CASA(AS), interacts. Aldrich(1979:273) has suggested that these relationships can be analyzed using four concepts, namely formalization, intensity, reciprocity and standardization. The second part of this section will identify the key organizations with which the CASA(AS) interacts and using Aldrich's four concepts some of the most relevant interactions will be explained.

General environmental conditions have influenced the development of the CASA(AS) throughout the course of its history. In fact it is in large part due to changing demographic conditions in Alberta and the technology of the time that the CASA(AS) was formed. In terms of demography the population of Alberta more than doubled during the time period 1911 to 1931. What was particularly important from the point of view of the CASA(AS) is the social composition of this population. Many of the immigrants came from Britain and some brought with them their love for sports, one of which was swimming. As has been previously detailed it was in large part due to the enthusiasm of one of these immigrant families from Britain, the Davidsons, that the CASA(AS) was formed. In addition several of the key figures in the formation of the organization were new British immigrants.

The technological conditions that influenced the formation of the CASA(AS) were specifically those that contributed to the building of swimming pools. The increased mechanization that was prevalent in the 1920's and 1930's meant it was easier to transport the type of materials necessary to build pools. In the past the only places to swim had been open water areas. Not only did pools make swimming safer but they also provided a central point for swimmers to meet and they also meant standardized distances. The latter point is particularly important for the competitive element of swimming as it meant it was easier to compare times. Other types of conditions that influenced the early days of the CASA(AS) were ecological and political. The ecology of Alberta, specifically its geographic position, influenced and still continues to influence the sport of swimming. In the early days of the CASA(AS) there were very few (only two until the mid 1950's) indoor pools. Consequently all swim meets were held outdoors and the organization only functioned for about four months each year. Presently the organization still distinguishes between summer clubs (those with only outdoor pools) and winter clubs (those with indoor pools). As a result of the obvious advantages of being a winter club all the better swimmers come from this type of situation. Consequently, the organization's main efforts are directed to these clubs.

Political conditions affect voluntary sport organizations in many ways. In its formative years the political demands of World War II depleted the CASA(AS)'s major resource, swimmers. Following the war political pressure on municipalities to develop recreation commissions resulted in an increase in the number of swimming pools in the province and a subsequent increase in the membership of the CASA(AS).

In the mid 1950's cultural influences from the United States brought across the border the phenomenon of age group swimming. As we have previously outlined this was to be probably the most dominant influence on the development of the CASA(AS). Also around this time the combined effect of technology and political pressure resulted in significant changes for the CASA(AS). Technology was influential because it was at a stage where good indoor swimming pools could be built at reasonable cost (as previously mentioned existing indoor pools were little more than oversized bath tubs). Political pressure came from within the organization and was exerted on municipal councils to build swimming facilities that could be used twelve months of the year rather than four months, i.e., indoor pools. This instance provides us with a good example of how, as well as the environment influencing the organization, the organization can influence its environment.

Over the past twenty years changes in political conditions, specifically increasing government involvement in sport, have continued to affect the development of the CASA(AS). Since the issuing of Bill C131, The Fitness and Amateur Sport Act, both the federal and provincial governments have become more heavily involved in sport. With this greater involvement has come an increased number of funds for programs, subsidization of administrative help and athlete assistance. Although this type of help has greatly assisted the CASA(AS) it has also created for them a resource dependency, particularly with the provincial government. The development of the CASA(AS) has consequently been somewhat tied to the program priorities of government agencies.

In addition to the organization/environment relationships already mentioned there have been other general conditions that have affected and continue to effect the development of the CASA(AS). For example, the changing economic conditions of the environment obviously affected the organization. It would be interesting to see if the economic fortunes of Alberta have paralleled the growth and development of the CASA(AS). Also, as the CASA(AS) has become more tied to dependency on provincial government funds, there has been an increase in legal conditions affecting the organization. These legal conditions, specifically the requirement of a constitution and by-laws, have affected the administrative structure of the CASA(AS). This type of influence is in need of investigation.

In summary, what this part of the final section has done is to outline some of the organization/environment interrelations of the CASA(AS). It is apparent that several environmental influences have considerably affected the course of development of the CASA(AS). What is needed in research into voluntary sport organizations are more detailed and in-depth studies using this type of analysis.

In addition to "general conditions", Hall(1977:303) also suggests that there are "specific environmental influences on the organization, such as other organizations with which it interacts". These organizations along with the focal organization, the CASA(AS), comprise what is known as the organizational set. One relatively simplistic way to analyze an organization's environment is to examine the relationships between the focal organization and those organizations within the organization set. This type of analysis because it only considers dyadic relationships is not as useful or comprehensive as the network analysis approach used by Stern(1979) in his study of the N.C.A.A. It does, nevertheless, offer a starting point from which more complex types of analysis can be undertaken. For the purposes of this study the organization set of the CASA(AS) is presented in Table 4. Several examples of interorganizational relationships will be examined using the four concepts employed by Aldrich. Briefly explained these are:

1. Formalization
    a. Agreement formalization: the extent to

which a transaction between two organizations is given official recognition and legislatively or administratively sanctioned.

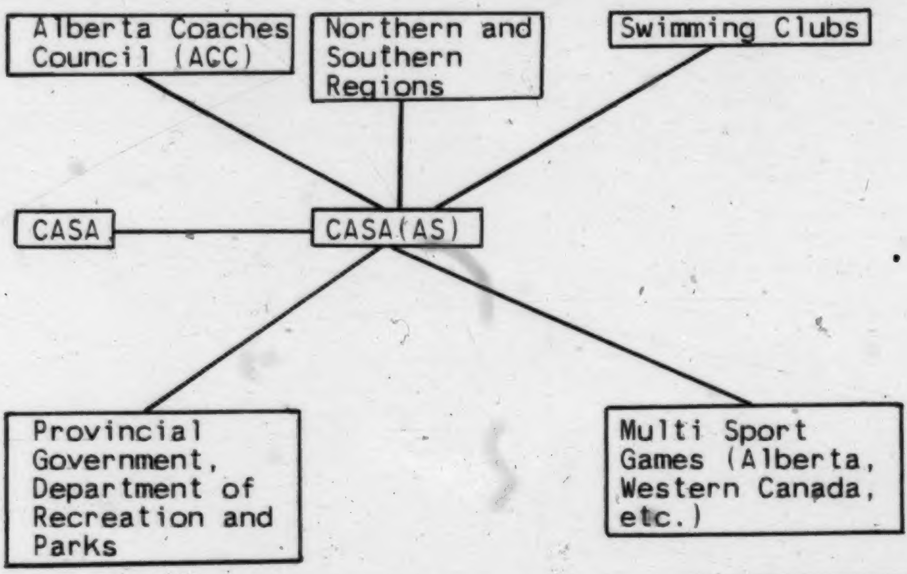
   b. Structural formalization: the extent to which an intermediary organization coordinates the relationship between two or more organizations.

2. Intensity
   a. Amount of resources involved: the magnitude of an organization's resource committed to a transaction or relation.
   b. Frequency of interaction: the amount of contact between two organizations, in either absolute or relative terms.
3. Reciprocity
   a. Resource reciprocity: the extent to which resources in a transaction flow to both parties equally or benefit one unilaterally.
   b. Definitional reciprocity: the extent to which the terms of a transaction are mutually agreed upon.
4. Standardization
   a. Unit standardization: the extent of similarity between individual units of the resources in a transaction.
   b. Procedural standardization: the degree of similarity over time in the procedures for transactions with another organization ranging from standardized to case-by-case interaction(1979:278).

Some of the most important relationships the CASA(AS) has are with the four other swimming related organizations (ACC, Northern and Southern Regions, Swim Clubs and CASA) in the organization set. If we examine these relationships we find that there is, to a certain extent, what Aldrich calls agreement formalization. That is to say that the relationship of the CASA(AS) to all four organizations is legislated, in general terms, in the by-laws of both the CASA(AS) and the organization concerned. One advantage of this legislation is that it officially sanctions an interdependency between the two organizations, a factor

Table 4

Major Agencies in the Organizational Set of the CASA(AS)


Alberta Coaches Council (ACC)
Northern and Southern Regions
Swimming Clubs
CASA
CASA(AS)
Provincial Government, Department of Recreation and Parks
Multi Sport Games (Alberta, Western Canada, etc.)

which helps provide them with some degree of stability. This idea is particularly relevant to a voluntary organization as by its nature it is prone to a lack of stability. The areas which the legislation covers are usually those of most importance to the organizations and those which have the potential to seriously affect the stability of one or both of the organizations concerned. An example of the former is the legislation that determines the amount of representation that one organization is allowed in the decisions of the other. The latter is exemplified by the amount of documentation concerning suspensions, appeals, transfers, and so on. In addition to a number of formalized agreements in the areas mentioned above much of the interaction between the CASA(AS) and these other four swimming bodies takes place on an exchange basis. According to Levine and White(1961) an exchange is "any voluntary activity between two organizations which has consequences, actual or anticipated for the realization of their respective goals or objectives". An example of this type of exchange is found in the hosting of interprovincial competitions. The CASA(AS) provides the opportunity for the meet, the officials, administration, etc. The club, in turn, provides its best swimmers for the provincial team. The club benefits because its swimmers are exposed to top level competition, the provincial section benefits because it is able to field a strong team. A similar exchange often occurs between the CASA(AS) and the CASA when selections for national teams are made. The exchanges which are made are essentially a type of bargain between the two organizations. Each seeks to maximize the power it gains from the exchange but it must do this without damaging its relationship with the other organization.

In addition to some degree of formalization the CASA(AS) relationship to the other four swimming organizations also shows some degree of what Aldrich terms procedural standardization. Hall(1982:259) suggests that high procedural standardization is exemplified by similar procedures being used over a period of time. Examples of this type of situation are frequently found when the CASA(AS), deals with other swim organizations on topics like swimathons, records forms, officials testing and certification, event lists, meet rules, and registration of swimmers. Aldrich(1979:277) points out that standardization of procedures is more likely in larger organizations. While it is not possible, given the scope of this study, to compare the CASA(AS) to other voluntary sport organizations, it is informative to note that as the organization has grown so too has the extent of procedural standardization. In fact, as the organization started to grow in the late 1950's one of the ways in which this growth was dealt with was through standardization of procedures. Jack Billingsley explains how this was carried out for the officials who run the meets:

> What we did is we organized an officials' meeting and we started coming up with official cards with their duties on...we tried to standardize them for every one of the officials' positions. In fact we set up a complete list of what they had to do and how they were to do it(Interview, February 23, 1983).

One of the major reasons for standardizing of procedures is that because the voluntary sport organization has to deal with parents who are relatively untrained in the technical skills of the various organizational tasks there is a degree of uncertainty in the organization. Organizations attempt to cope with uncertainty and one of the coping mechanisms used by the CASA(AS) is through procedural standardization.

In its relationship with the Alberta Government, Department of Recreation and Parks ,the CASA(AS), as in its relationship with other swim groups, exhibits agreement formalization, i.e., the relationship is administratively sanctioned. As with the swim groups one of the reasons for this standardization is that it provides the CASA(AS) with some degree of stability. In part this stability is provided by the fact that the Provincial Government provides the CASA(AS) with an annual grant, thus ensuring a regular source of funding to the organization. In return for this grant the CASA(AS) provides opportunities in competitive swimming for the citizens of Alberta. On the surface this type of relationship appears to fulfill Aldrich's criteria for resource reciprocity and the relationship is one of exchange. The public purse provides funds to the CASA(AS) who in turn provides services to the public. A more critical analysis of this type of dyadic relationship would suggest that, rather than an exchange type of relationship, what is being built is a power dependency. Essentially this may be taken to mean that the government provides resources that are vital to the CASA(AS) but the reverse is not true, i.e., the government would not suffer great pressure if opportunities for competitive swimming were withdrawn in the province. Consequently, the government holds a position of power over the voluntary sport organizations. Some would suggest that government is able to use this power to emphasize their priorities in sport at the expense of those of the voluntary sport organizations. As well as agreement formalization and some degree of resource reciprocity the CASA(AS)'s relationship with Alberta Recreation and Parks shows the high degree of procedural standardization that typifies interaction with a government agency.

In addition to the previously mentioned swimming organizations and the provincial government the CASA(AS) also has periodic contact with several other organizations. Included in this group are: the various multi-sport organizations like the Alberta Games Council and The Western Canada Games Foundation; Sport Canada; The Coaching Association of Canada; various educational institutions and different municipal governments. Each of these relationships could be analyzed using Aldrich's four dimensions of interorganizational relations. These in turn can be used to explain some of the dynamics of organizations.

In summary what the latter part of this section has presented are some details of the major organizations which comprise the CASA(AS)'s organizational set. These relationships were explained using Aldrich's four dimensions of interorganizational relations. This type of analysis offers a starting point for more complex work which can help us to fully understand the nature of the voluntary sport organization.

Chapter V

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

A. Introduction

The purpose of this study was to undertake an organizational case analysis of a specific voluntary sport organization. The organization which was selected for the research was The Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. Seven sub-problem areas were identified as the specific focus for the study. These sub-problems were as shown below.

1. To investigate if and why the bureaucratization of the selected volunteer sport organization is occurring.
2. If bureaucratization is taking place, to investigate what manifestations of this bureaucratization are apparent in the volunteer sport organization.
3. To investigate what possible consequences may occur as a result of this bureaucratization.
4. To investigate if and why class and gender inequalities exist in the volunteer sport organization.
5. To investigate how those individuals and/or organizational sub-units which hold power within the voluntary sport organization gain their status.
6. To investigate if and why power in the voluntary sport organization is centralized in certain geographic areas.
7. To investigate the relationship of the volunteer sport organization to its environment and to determine what

influence this environment has on the volunteer sport organization.

Data were obtained using two research techniques. First, 34 focused interviews were conducted with past and present members of the organization. All of the interviews were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. Second, organizational documents were collected, which covered the period 1934 to 1983. Both data sets were subjected to latent content analysis. The material from the content analysis combined with existing literature were used to generate the results section of the study.

B. Summary

The first sub-problem with which this study was concerned was to investigate if and why the bureaucratization of the CASA(AS) was occurring. In order to do this a study of how the organization has developed was undertaken. The data that were obtained were analyzed, in large part, using Anthony Downs' writings on bureaucracy.

What this research has shown is that the CASA(AS) has, during the course of its development, moved from a loose amalgam of individuals interested in promoting competitive swimming to an organization that exhibits several of the characteristics of Max Weber's ideal type bureaucracy. Like many other bureaucracies the CASA(AS) was founded by a leader(s) who possessed approximations of a certain quality that Weber termed charisma. Through a combination of being attracted to this quality and to the cause of promoting swimming the early leaders were, in the late 1920's and early 1930's, able to draw to themselves a strong cadre of supporters who formed the CASA(AS). In its early years the CASA(AS) grew rapidly. Unlike many other organizations founded on charismatic authority the CASA(AS) did not experience the problems of leadership succession which occurs with the loss of the charismatic leader(s). One of the main reasons why it was suggested this problem did not occur was that the organization had a monopolistic position in regard to swimming in the province. Also, the organization quickly established two functions, the allocating of provincial championships and the issuing of amateur cards, that were very important to its membership. Mainly as a result of these two factors the CASA(AS) was able to develop stability early on in its life cycle and consequently its efforts could be directed towards growth. With this growth came the need for some type of rudimentary organizational structure. This was achieved with the creation of an initial division of labour and the promulgation of a basic set of rules and regulations, the first two bureaucratic characteristics to appear in the organization.

Like any other organization the CASA(AS) was subject to the influence of its environment. The initial rapid growth that the organization had experienced was halted by the outbreak of war in 1939. During the war years the organization's primary resource, male swimmers, was depleted due to military call-up. This lack of swimmers caused a concurrent decline in organizational activity.

It was not until three to four years after the war that the CASA(AS) started to regain some of the ground it lost during it. Two factors were mainly responsible for this new period of growth. First, the creation of municipal recreation commissions encouraged the development of swimming pools. At these pools swimming clubs were formed and many of these showed varying degrees of involvement with the CASA(AS) thus boosting its numbers. The second factor was that the CASA(AS) benefitted from the involvement in the organization of several trained physical educators. These people had come from relatively recently developed degree programs in physical education. The organization benefitted by their presence not only because of their expertise but also because of contacts they had been able to develop in the field. With the creation of more club members for the CASA(AS) there emerged a form of some sort of hierarchy of authority. Concommitantly, the involvement of trained physical educators lead to the beginnings of a trend toward professional qualifications for upper level technical and administrative personnel. Both of these factors, a hierarchy of authority and professional qualifications, were initial evidence of two bureaucratic characteristics that would develop over the ensuing years.

By the mid 1950's the CASA(AS) was fairly well established in its role of controlling and promoting competitive swimming in the province of Alberta. Over the period of the next eight years three factors would influence the organization and set it on its way to becoming the efficient and effective organization that it was to become by the 1980's. The first of these factors was the concept of age group swimming, whereas previously swimming was mainly confined to people 14 years of age and above. Age group classifications opened up the sport to children of approximately seven years of age and older. With the addition of these children to the programs of the CASA(AS), it experienced a rapid growth in membership and consequently there was a need for more swim meets. To run these meets officials and administrators were needed and the logical place to turn for these people was to the parents of the swimmers. Some became involved in the technical end of the sport while others became concerned with administration. The number of administrators on the CASA(AS) executive rose from 4 in 1955 to 10 in 1963. Many of the people brought with them the business-like skills that they had acquired through their role in the work force. These people saw it as desirable to have people with similar skills on the executive and consequently the organization started to actively recruit people with these types of professional qualifications. This is the second factor that was to greatly contribute to the CASA(AS)'s rapid growth in this era and it is also further evidence of the bureaucratization of the organization.

The final factor that was to contribute to growth of the CASA(AS) in this era was the building of indoor swimming pools. This had the effect of transforming swimming from a four month per year to a twelve month per year sport. This coupled with the increased number of swimmers which came about from the age group classifications meant a greater number of swim meets and consequently an increase in the accompanying administrative demands. As a result of these there was an increase in the number of organizational rules and regulations and a more definitive division of labour, both indicators of increasing bureaucratization. The advantages that came about as a result of this trend were a more effective and efficient organization. The negative consequences were that essentially positions on the organization's executive became restricted to a small group of people who possessed certain types of skills.

As a result of the rapid growth that the CASA(AS) had experienced in the late 1950's and early 1960's there had been a considerable increase in organizational expenses. To meet these increased costs the CASA(AS) was faced with the need to raise funds. To do this it had to become legally incorporated and this took place December 23rd, 1963. This move, as well as opening up new funding areas to the organization and making it a legal entity, also moved it closer to fulfilling another of the characteristics of a legal-rational bureaucracy. Prior to incorporation the members of the organization could be personally sued for its debts. However, with incorporation the liability of the members was limited thus making them more "personally free".

Shortly after the incorporation of the CASA(AS) another event occurred in the development of the organization. This was the creation of the Edmonton and Calgary Swimming Associations, the forerunners of the present day Northern and Southern Regions respectively, their main purpose was to coordinate the clubs in their areas. This type of function had become necessary as a result of the increased size of the CASA(AS). In terms of bureaucratization what the formation of these two agencies did was to create another level in the hierarchy of authority.

In addition to the creation of the two regional associations of the CASA(AS) another sub-bureau was created shortly after incorporation. The Alberta Coaches Council was formed to act as a technical advisory body to the executive. As the CASA(AS) had grown its administrative component had been increasingly taken over by people with strong administrative backgrounds but little technical experience. The A.C.C. was formed to help these people make decisions pertaining to the technical aspects of the sport. What this type of division of labour does is further specify the function of the offices of the organization, another bureaucratic characteristic.

In the early 1970's, partly due to the continued growth of the CASA(AS) and partly due to similar successful ventures at the national level, the CASA(AS) appointed its first part-time professional staff person. This event was seen by many to be one of the most significant in the development of the CASA(AS). It had the effect of vastly improving the communication of the organization but it also placed financial strains on their budget.

Following the appointment of the paid part-time staff person the organization experienced qualitative but not much quantitative growth. As this qualitative growth was taking place the organization replaced the part-time staff person with a full-time one, hired secretarial help and also employed a part-time technical consultant. What these moves have meant in terms of bureaucratic characteristics was that now the organization had people who held a contract, had as their sole occupation their work with the CASA(AS), and were paid a money salary.

What the study has done, then, is to trace the development of the CASA(AS) and show how it has become bureaucratized. In the course of tracing this bureaucratization certain bureaucratic characteristics were identified. The second sub-problem area of this study was to specifically identify these manifestations of bureaucracy which the organization exhibited. It was shown that some characteristics of bureaucracy had little relevance for any one but the paid staff of the CASA(AS), for example, appointment on the basis of a contract, monied salary and so on. Other characteristics have emerged and developed as the organization has grown. Based on the findings from the first two sections of the study a pattern of bureaucratization for voluntary organizations was proposed.

In addition to investigating the process of bureaucratization and the manifestations of bureaucracy in the CASA(AS) another sub-problem area of this study was to examine the consequences of bureaucratization. Two perspectives, a Weberian one and a Marxist one, were offered and depending on which perspective was considered, both positive and negative consequences were attributed to bureaucracy. From the Weberian point of view bureaucracy was seen as an efficient non-discriminatory type of social organization. From the Marxist perspective it was seen to perpetuate existing class domination. In the case of the CASA(AS) both positions have merit. The organization was selected, in large part, because of its efficiency and certainly it would appear that this has increased as the organization has become more bureaucratized. What has also happened with this process, however, is that certain groups have essentially been excluded from participation in the upper administrative levels of the organization. Two specific groups with which this study was concerned were women and lower class individuals.

In terms of gender inequality several findings were presented to show the existence of this phenomenon. It was also found that the constraints women faced in corporate organizations, and their subsequent lack of experience in these types of agencies, influenced their involvement in the voluntary sport organization. In the CASA(AS) women were usually given the type of tasks that most closely approximated the traditional roles of females. Men, on the other hand, because of their corporate experience were usually assumed to be the ones to undertake the higher level managerial tasks. Also, women because they lacked corporate experience, and consequently were a minority in management, were unable to create the networks that are necessary to function effectively in the upper levels of a voluntary sport organization. Finally, women because they did not generally fill upper-level management jobs, in their paid work, were unable to gain access to the resource that came with this type of work and it was shown that these could be extremely beneficial to people working in a voluntary sport organization.

In terms of class inequality findings were again presented to show the existence of this type of phenomenon. These findings were explained in terms of the four causes of inequality in sport organizations presented by Hollands and Gruneau(1979). Although little data were available on the first of these, that executive members usually start from a socially advantageous position, some evidence did seem to indicate that this was the case. In terms of the second cause, social closure, it would appear that in the CASA(AS) several forms are covertly or overtly practiced. Finally, the authority structure and division of labour in the CASA(AS) were shown to limit upper level positions to those who had acquired the necessary prerequisite skills in their place of work.

In addition to those four causes, it was also shown that the bureaucratic structure of the CASA(AS) served to maintain and reinforce existing class inequalities. Three examples of this were given. First, the recruitment of executive members from the larger more successful clubs was shown to perpetuate existing class inequalities. Second, the goal structure of the organization was shown to favour the upper classes. Finally, the complexity of the rules and regulations of the organization made it difficult for members of the lower class to gain upper level management positions.

The fifth sub-problem with which this study was concerned was to examine how individuals and sub-groups who were seen as holding power in the organization gained such status. Three individuals and one sub-group, the coaches, were seen as being powerful in the CASA(AS). The main source of power was through access to resources; this in turn gave these people the ability to provide the organization with some degree of certainty. Power was also gained as a result of the fact that through their experience or technical knowledge these people could not be easily replaced and also they participated in and controlled activities that were central to the functioning of the organization.

In answer to the study's sixth sub-problem, it was shown that power, in terms of the ability to make decisions, was centralized with the organization's executive members who lived in the province's two major urban areas. It was explained that power was centralized for three reasons. First, the high level of risk associated with delegating power to lower level members of the voluntary sport organization encouraged executive members to retain power. Second, since the organization did not have a deep hierarchical structure, upper level executives could more easily stay in touch with what was going on in the organization and consequently there was little pressure on them to decentralize. Finally, the employment of professional staff to help with executive functions had meant the executive could retain power.

The main contributing factor to power being centralized in the two large urban areas of the province was size of population. This factor allowed clubs in these areas to develop resources that made them successful. Since provincial executives usually came from successful clubs and since these were mainly found in the larger urban areas, power became concentrated in these areas.

The final sub-problem with which the study was concerned was to examine the organizational environment of the CASA(AS). A complete study of the environment was beyond the scope of this research. Consequently only specific examples were given in order to illustrate the utility of this type of approach for studying voluntary sport organizations. The approach taken to studying the organizational environment was that used by Hall(1977) when he identified two areas of the environment, "general conditions" and "specific environmental influences". This research provided examples of how general environmental influences have affected the development of the CASA(AS). In terms of the specific environmental influences the organization set of the CASA(AS) was identified. Examples of key relationships between the CASA(AS) and members of the set were analyzed using Aldrich's (1979) four concepts: formalization, intensity, reciprocity, and standardization.

In summary the study has undertaken an organizational case analysis of a voluntary sport organization. Seven sub-problem areas have been addressed. Data have been presented to answer the questions posed in these areas. It is hope that future research will build on these data as only in this way we will develop a better understanding of the voluntary organizations that are the backbone of Canada's sport delivery system.

C. Conclusions

As noted in the first chapter of this dissertation there has been a paucity of research which has dealt with voluntary sport organizations. The work that had been completed in this area was, for the most part, descriptive and had little or no theoretical base. Consequently, it was hard to draw any "generalizable" conclusions from it.

What this study has done is to address several of the major problems confronting voluntary organizations. Through a case analysis, data has been presented to explain these problems. Although the case analysis method only examines one sample group at one point in time, the theoretical base on which this study is founded allows some conclusions to be drawn which could be applied to other voluntary sport organizations.

The first sub-problem with which this study was concerned was to investigate if and why the voluntary sport organization selected for the case analysis was becoming bureaucratized. Building on the work of Max Weber it was suggested that voluntary organizations were founded by what he has termed charismatic leaders. It was therefore suggested that the process of bureaucratization was occurring through the routinization of charisma. The results of the data analysis indicated that we may conclude the CASA(AS) was, in fact, founded by charismatic leaders, in this case a family called the Davidsons. We may also suggest that this may possibly be the way that most voluntary sport organizations are formed. Those people who have an interest in promoting a particular sport and who also possess some semblance of this quality termed charisma are able to draw to them a sufficient number of "disciples" to form the basis of an organization.

We may also conclude that once this rudimentary organization is formed by the charismatic leaders, the process of routinization starts to take place. This process was seen to occur somewhat sooner in a voluntary sport organization than previous researchers had suggested it occurred in other types of organizations. Several reasons were suggested for this situation, the main conclusion being that the phenomenon came about as a result of the monopolistic position the CASA(AS) held in the province in regard to control of its sport. If other voluntary sport organizations were able to obtain a similar position it would seem feasible to conclude that they would follow a similar pattern of development in their early stages.

The second sub-problem with which this research was concerned was to determine what manifestations of bureaucracy were present in the voluntary sport organization. Several different sets of bureaucratic manifestations have been presented by various researchers. The one used in this study was that presented by Martin Albrow in his book Bureaucracy. The conclusion that can be drawn from the research data is that the voluntary sport organization does show some evidence of several of the manifestations of bureaucracy outlined by Albrow. These are: a hierarchy of offices; the specification of the functions of the offices; an emphasis on professional qualifications; a career structure; a disciplinary system, i.e., a set of rules and regulations; appointment on the basis of a contract; a money salary; and the official's post being his/her sole occupation. It should be noted however that in the case of the last three manifestations these only became relevant in their literal sense when the organization reached a stage in its development when it had to hire professional staff. In addition to the above, a further conclusion that can be drawn from this section and the first section is that there is a pattern of bureaucratization for the voluntary sport organization. The work of Downs and several other researchers was used to outline this pattern. It was shown that in the initial stages of development the only bureaucratic manifestations exhibited by the voluntary sport organization were a division of labour and a control system which took the form of a set of rules and regulations. In the initial stages of the organization's development both of these manifestations were found only in a rudimentary form. As the organization grew so too did the complexity of these manifestations. With the continued growth of the organization two other manifestations started to emerge. These were an emphasis on professional qualifications and consequently a career structure began to develop within the organization.

As the organization grew larger and more people became involved new sub-bureaus were formed and a hierarchy of authority developed. When professional staff were hired into the organization this brought with it further evidence of bureaucratization as some of these people had a contract, a money salary and their work with the CASA(AS) was their major occupation.

Given the evidence from this study and the theoretical constructs of Downs and these other researchers it is feasible to suggest that similar patterns may occur in other voluntary sport organizations.

The final sub-problem that dealt with the bureaucratization of the voluntary sport organization was specifically concerned with the consequences of bureaucratization. With respect to this sub-problem we may conclude that depending on which theoretical perspective is adopted, bureaucratization can be seen as either a positive or a negative occurrence. If we adopt the Weberian perspective of bureaucracy we conclude that because it has increased the efficiency of the CASA(AS) and made the organization more egalitarian by providing a greater range of choice it is a positive situation. However, if we adopt the competing Marxist perspective our conclusion would be that bureaucracy is a negative phenomenon because it serves to perpetuate the existing class structure of society and, as such, it restricts the organizational involvement of certain groups. Both of these perspectives were supported to some degree by the data presented in the study.

The fourth sub-problem area of the study was concerned with the existence of class and gender inequality in the voluntary sport organization. In terms of class inequality it was found that the vast majority of executive members came from the upper socioeconomic levels.

Five conclusions were presented as to why this phenomenon occurred. First, the executive members came from socially advantaged backgrounds. This was seen to give them a "headstart" in the quest for an executive position. It also imbued them with an understanding of the social desirability of voluntary organization participation.

The second conclusion drawn as to why class inequality existed in the voluntary sport organization related to the practice of social closure, i.e., that process by which the organization restricted involvement in its executive to certain types of people. Several examples of social closure were found. These included the conscious recruitment of "management calibre" people onto the executive and the emphasis placed on "credentialism" for executive members.

The third conclusion drawn in regard to class inequality was the fact that the existing authority structure of capitalist society spilled over into the administration of the voluntary sport organization. Because planning and policy execution have been increasingly important in amateur sport organizations we see, in executive positions in these groups, an overrepresentation of people who gain similar skills from their role in the workplace.

In a similar vein to the above, the fourth conclusion drawn from this section of the study related to the fact that the manufacturing division of labour prevelant under capitalism is also found in the administration of voluntary sport organizations. That is to say, the planning and policy-making aspects of the organization are usually assumed by a small, allegedly more skillfull group while the manual type of work is done by a larger, less skilled group.

The final conclusion drawn as to the reasons for class inequality in the CASA(AS) is the fact that its bureaucratic structure was shown to maintain and reinforce class inequalities. It may be suggested that since other studies have shown the existence of class inequality in voluntary sport organizations that these findings may hold true for organizations other than the CASA(AS).

In terms of gender inequality, several factors were outlined that indicated the existence of this phenomenon. It was concluded that the constraints women face in securing top level positions in corporate organizations spill over into their volunteer work and similarly restrict their involvement. Evidence of this phenomenon was found in the fact that women, because of their lack of corporate experience, were often assigned the lower level jobs in the voluntary organization. Their lack of corporate experience also meant that women were unable to create networks within the voluntary sport organization and with other related organizations. Finally, it meant that women did not have access to the resources of the work place and these were shown to be useful in successfully undertaking higher level volunteer tasks. As was the case with class inequality, studies have often shown the existence of gender inequality in various types of voluntary sport organizations. Rarely, however, have these studies sought to explain their findings in theoretically informed terms. It appears feasible to conclude that the results found here could also be used to explain similar inequalities in other voluntary sport organizations.

The fifth sub-problem with which this study was concerned was to investigate how those individuals or sub-units which were seen as holding power in the CASA(AS) acquired such status. Three individuals and one sub-unit, the coaches, were identified as being powerful. It was concluded, from the analysis of the data, that the main source of power was access to resources. The resources were: information about their sport; business ability; and political contacts. Through access to these resources both individuals and sub-units were able to fulfill the three criteria for power outlined by Hickson et al.(1971) in their Strategic Contingencies Theory, i.e., the individuals and the sub-unit helped control uncertainty, they were not easily replaceable, and their activities were central to the functioning of the organization.

The sixth sub-problem of the study investigated why power in the voluntary sport organization was centralized in certain geographic areas. It was concluded that the reasons for a centralized power structure in the voluntary sport organization are threefold. First, because there is a high risk involved with delegating power to lower level members, executives tend to favour keeping control of power themselves. Second, as a result of the organization not having a deep hierarchy of authority the executive members can stay in touch with the "grass roots" level and, consequently, there is little reason to decentralize. Finally, because the executive of the voluntary sport organization had hired paid staff it could delegate responsibilities to them yet still retain control of power.

In regard to the reasons why power was centralized in the larger urban areas it was concluded that the main contributing factor was the size of the population base in these areas. This population base allowed the clubs in the area to develop the resources to make themselves successful. As a result of this success, provincial executive members tended to come from these clubs and therefore power became centralized in these areas.

The final sub-problem with which this study dealt was a brief examination of the organizational environment. It was shown that a number of general environmental influences have affected the development of the CASA(AS). It was also shown that the organizational set of the CASA(AS) could be analyzed using Aldrich's four dimensions of interorganizational relations and this approach was useful in explaining some of the actions of the voluntary sport organization. The main conclusion to be drawn from this section was that the study of the environment of the voluntary sport organization is useful in terms of explaining its development.

In summary, several conclusions can be drawn from this study. Although it has only focused on one particular voluntary sport organization the theoretical base on which the results of the study are founded allows us to suggest that in a number of instances the findings presented here could be applied to other similar organizations.

D. Recommendations

In light of the data that have been presented the following recommendations are made for further study.

1. The process of the bureaucratization should be investigated with other voluntary sport organizations to determine if a pattern of bureaucratization can be established for these types of agencies.
2. The consequences of bureaucratization should be more fully investigated using different theoretical perspectives.
3. More studies should be undertaken to examine the causes of the inequalities of class and gender that exist in voluntary sport organizations.
4. The study of power in voluntary sport organizations should be examined in more detail.
5. Detailed studies should be made of the environment of the voluntary sport organization.
6. Research studies should be undertaken that examine

aspects of voluntary sport organizations, other than those considered in this study.

7. Appropriate studies undertaken on non-voluntary type organizations should be replicated where applicable on voluntary sport organizations.

Bibliography

Acker, Joan, and Van Houten, Donald R. "Differential Recruitment and Control:The Sex Structuring of Organizations." Administrative Science Quarterly 19 (June 1974): 152-163.

The Albertan March 17th, 1917.

Albrecht, Sandy. "Informal Interaction Patterns of Professional Women." in The Proceedings of the Conference Women and Men - Colleagues in Management? The University of Texas at Austin, May 16th-17th, 1975.

Albrow, Martin. Bureaucracy. London:Macmillan and Company Limited, 1970.

Aldrich, Howard E. Organizations and Environments. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1979.

Allcock, J.B. "Voluntary Associations and the Structure of Power." The Sociological Review 16 (March 1968): 59-81.

Axelrod,Morris. "Urban Structure and Social Participation." American Sociological Review 21 (February 1956): 13-18.

Babbie, Earl. The Practice of Social Research. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company Inc., 1979.

Babchuk, Nicholas; Marsey, Ruth; and Gordon, Wayne C. "Men and Women in Community Agencies: A Note on Power and Prestige." American Sociological Review 25 (June 1960): 399-403.

Babchuk, Nicholas, and Edwards, John N. "Voluntary Associations and the Integration Hypothesis." Sociological Inquiry 35 (Spring 1965): 149-162.

Babchuk, Nicholas, and Booth, Alan. "Voluntary Association Membership: A Longitudinal Analysis." American Sociological Review 34 (February 1969): 31-45.

Baka, Richard S.P. "A History of Provincial Government Involvement in Sport in Western Canada." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Alberta, 1978.

Bates, F.L. "The Political Economy Approach in Perspective" in Power in Organizations, pp. 175-176. Edited by Mayer N. Zald. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970.

Beamish, Robert B. "Socioeconomic and Demographic Characteristics of the National Executive of Selected Amateur Sports in Canada(1975). Working Papers in the Sociological Study of Sports and Leisure.Vol.1, No.1, 1978.

Beamish, Robert B. "Sport Executives and Voluntary Associations: A Review of the Literature and Commentary Upon Some Theoretical Issues." A paper presented at the 1983 CAHPER Conference, Toronto, June, 1983.

Becker, Howard S., and Strauss, Anslem L. "Careers, Personality and Adult Socialization." The American Journal of Sociology 62 (November 1956): 253-263.

Bendix, Reinhard. "Bureaucracy." in The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 2., pp. 206-219. Edited by David Sills. New York: Crowell, Collier and MacMillan, Inc., 1968.

Bierstedt, Robert. "An Analysis of Social Power." American Sociological Review 15 (December 1950): 730-738.

Blau, Peter. Bureaucracy in Modern Society. New York: Random House, 1956.

Blau, Peter M."Decentralization in Bureaucracies" in Power in Organizations, pp. 150-174. Edited by Mayer N. Zald. Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970.

Blau, Peter, M., and Meyer, Marshall W. Bureaucracy in Modern Society. (2nd ed.) New York: Random House, 1971.

Blau, Peter M., and Schoenherr, Richard A. The Structure of Organizations. New York: Basic Books, 1971.

Booth, Alan; Babchuk, Nicholas; and Knox, Alan B. "Social Stratification and Membership in Instrumental-Expressive Voluntary Associations." Sociological Quarterly 9 (Autumn 1968): 427-439.

Booth, Alan, and Babchuk, Nicholas. "Personal Influence Networks and Voluntary Association Affiliation." Sociological Inquiry 39 (Spring 1969): 179-188.

Booth, Alan. "Sex and Social Participation." American Sociological Review 37 (April 1972):183-192.

Bratton, Robert D. "Consensus on the Relative Importance of Association Goals and Personal Motives Among Executive Members of Two Canadian Sport Associations." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, 1970.

Braverman, Harry. Labour and Monopoly Capital. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974.

Burton, Thomas, L. "Sources of Invalidity in Measurement by Type of Data Instrument." Unpublished document, The University of Alberta, 1976a.

Burton, Thomas, L. "Lecture Notes, Recreation 477." The University of Alberta, 1976b.

Burton, Thomas, L. The Roles and Relevance of Alberta's Regional Planning Commissions. Edmonton: The University of Alberta, 1981.

Burton, Thomas L., and Dale, L. "Regional Planning in Alberta: Performance and Prospects." A paper submitted to the Western Regional Science Association Annual Conference, 1984.

Calgary Albertan June 25th, 1909.

Calgary Albertan February 10th, 1938.

Campbell, E. and Alexander, C.N. "Structural Effects and Interpersonal Relationships." American Journal of Sociology 71 (1965): 284-289.

Campagnola, Iona. Partners in the Pursuit of Excellence: A National Policy on Amateur Sport. Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1979.

Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. Annual General Meeting Minutes, 1943.

Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. Annual General Meeting Minutes, 1944.

Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. Annual General Meeting Minutes, 1948.

Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. Newsletter, May 9th, 1955.

Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. Financial Statement, 1963.

Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. President's Report, 1966.

Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. President's Report, 1974.

Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. Correspondence to Project 81 Committee, November 14th, 1978.

Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. Constitution and By-Laws, 1981.

Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section. President's Report, 1982.

Chapin, F.Stuart. "The Growth of Bureaucracy:An Hypothesis." American Sociological Review 16 (December 1951): 835-836.

Chapin, F. Stuart, and Tsouderos, John E. "Formalization Observed in Ten Voluntary Associations:Concepts, Morphology, Process." Social Forces 33 (May 1955): 342-345.

Clark, Terry N. "The Concept of Power: Some Overemphasized and Underrecognized Dimensions." The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 48 (December 1967): 271-286.

Cosentino, Frank, and Howell, Maxwell L. A History of Physical Education in Canada. Toronto: General Publishing Company Limited, 1971.

Cox, Allan E. "A History of Sports in Canada, 1868-1900." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Alberta, 1969.

Crozier, Michel. The Bureaucratic Phenomenon. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Curtis, James. "Voluntary Association Joining:A Cross-National Comparative Note." American Sociological Review 36 (October 1971): 872-880.

Curtis, Richard F. "Occupational Mobility and Membership in Formal Voluntary Associations: A Note on Research." American Sociological Review 24 (December 1959): 846-848.

Cyert, Richard M., and March, James G. A Behavioral Theory of the Firm. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1963.

Defee, John F; Schultz, John J.; and Pasework, Richard A. "Occupational Level and Organizational Membership." Journal of Leisure Research 6 (Winter 1974): 20-26.

Dotson, Floyd. "Patterns of Voluntary Associations Among Urban Working Class Families." American Sociological Review 16 (October 1951): 687-693.

Downs, Anthony. Inside Bureaucracy. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967.

Dubin, Robert. "Power, Function and Organization." Pacific Sociological Review 6 (1963): 16-24.

Eckert, Helen M. "The Development of Organized Recreation and Physical Education in Alberta." Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, The University of Alberta, 1953.

Emerson, R.E. "Power-dependence Relations." American Sociological Review 27 (1962): 31-41.

Epstein, Cynthia F. "Encountering the Male Establishment: Sex Status Limits on Women's Careers in the Professions." American Journal of Sociology 75 (May 1970): 965-982.

Foskett, John M. "Social Structure and Social Participation." American Sociological Review 20 (August 1955): 431-438.

Francis, Roy G., and Stone, Robert C. Service and Procedure in a Bureaucracy: A Case Study. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956.

Freeman, Howard E; Novak, Edwin; and Reeder, Leo G. "Correlates of Membership in Voluntary Associations." American Sociological Review 22 (October 1957): 528-533.

French, John R.P.Jr., and Raven, Bertram. "The Bases of Social Power" in Group Dynamics, 3rd ed. pp. 259-269. Edited by Dorin Cartwright and Alvin Zander. New York:

Harper and Row, 1968.

Frey, James H. "The Organization of American Amateur Sport: Efficiency to Entropy." American Behavioural Scientist 21 (1978): 361-368.

Gibson, James L.; Ivancevich, John M.; and Donnelly, James H. Jr. Organizations:Structure, Process, Behavior. Dallas, Texas: Business Publications, Inc. 1973.

Giddens, Anthony. The Class Structure of Advanced Societies. London: Hutchinson, 1973.

Gordon, Wayne C., and Babchuk, Nicholas. "A Typology of Voluntary Associations." American Sociological Review 24 (February 1959): 22-29.

Gouldner, Alvin W. Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy. New York: The Free Press, 1954.

Gruder, C.L., and Cook, T.D. "Sex Dependency and Helping." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 19 (1971): 290-294.

Gruneau, Richard S. "Class or Mass:Notes on the Democratization of Canadian Amateur Sport." in Canadian Sport:Sociological Perspectives, pp. 108-141. Edited by

Richard S. Gruneau and John G. Albinson. Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley(Canada) Limited, 1976.

Gruneau, Richard S. "Class, Sports and Social Development: A Study in Social Theory and Historical Sociology." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Massachusetts, 1981.

Hagedorn, Robert., and Labovitz, Sanford. "An Analysis of Community and Professional Participation Among Occupations." *Social Forces* 46 (June 1967): 483-491.

Hall, M. Ann., and Richardson, Dorothy. *Fair Ball: Towards Sex Equality in Canadian Sport*. Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1982.

Hall, Richard. "Bureaucracy and Small Organizations." *Sociology and Social Research* 48 (October 1963): 38-46.

Hall, Richard H.; Haas, Eugene J.; and Johnson, Norman. "An Examination of the Blau-Scott and Etzioni Typologies." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 12 (June 1967):118-139.

Hall, Richard H. *Organizations:Structure and Process*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1977.

Hall, Richard H. *Organizations: Structure and Process*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1982.

Hausknecht, Murray. The Joiners:A Sociological Description of Voluntary Association Membership in the United States. New York: The Bedminster Press, 1962.

Hickson, David J.; Hinings, Christopher, R.; Lee, Charles A.; Schneck, Rodney, E.; and Pennings, Johannes M. "A Strategic Contingencies Theory of Intraorganizational Power." Administrative Science Quarterly 16 (1971): 216-229.

Hodge, Robert W., and Treiman, Donald J. "Social Participation and Social Status." American Sociological Review 33 (October 1968): 722-740.

Hollands, Robert G., and Gruneau, R.S. "Social Class and Voluntary Action in the Administration of Canadian Amateur Sport." Working Papers in the Sociological Study of Sports and Leisure. Vol.2, No.3, 1979.

Hyman, Herbert H., and Wright, Charles R. "Trends in Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults:Replication Based on Secondary Analysis of National Sample Surveys." American Sociological Review 36 (April 1971): 191-206.

Ingham, Alan G. "Occupational Subcultures in the Work World of Sport" in Sport and Social Order, pp. 333-389. Edited by Donald W. Ball and John W. Loy. Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley, 1975.

Ingham, Alan G. "American Sport in Transition:The Maturation of Industrial Capitalism and its Impact Upon Sport." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Massachusetts, 1978.

Jacoby, Arthur P. "Some Correlates of Instrumental and Expressive Orientations to Associational Membership." Sociological Inquiry 35 (Spring 1965): 163-175.

Johnson, Paula. "Women and Power:Toward a Theory of Effectiveness." Journal of Social Issues 32 (1976): 99-110.

Jones, Kevin G. "Sport in Canada, 1900-1920." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Alberta, 1970.

Kanter, Rosabeth M. Men and Women of the Corporation. New York: Basic Books Inc. Publishers, 1977.

Kerr, Clark; Dunlop, John T.; Harbison, Frederick H.; and Myers, Charles A. Industrialism and Industrial Man. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1960.

Kidd, Bruce. "The Canadian State and Sport:The Dilemma of Intervention." A paper presented at the 2nd Annual Conference of the National Association for Physical Education for Higher Education, Brainerd, Minnesota, 1980.

Komarovsky, Mira. "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers." American Sociological Review 11 (December 1946): 686-698.

Kotter, John P. "Power, Dependence and Effective Management." Harvard Business Review 5 (July/August 1977): 125-136.

Kreitzer, Donald J. "An Analysis of the Nature of Power." The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 45 (March 1965): 375-383.

Lapage, Ronald S. "Selected Sports and Canadian Society 1921-1939." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Alberta, 1974.

Lawrence, Paul R., and Lorsch, Jay W. Organization and Environment. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Levine, S., and White, P.E. "Exchange as a Conceptual

Framework for the Study of Interorganizational Relationships." Administrative Science Quarterly 5 (March 1961): 583-610.

Lindsay, Peter L. "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Alberta, 1969.

Loy, John W. "The Study of Sport and Social Mobility" in Aspects of Contemporary Sport Sociology, pp. 101-119. Edited by Gerald S. Kenyon. Chicago: The Athletic Institute, 1969.

Lüschen, Gunther. "Social Stratification and Mobility Among Young German Sportsmen" in Sport Readings from a Sociological Perspective, pp. 237-258. Edited by Eric Dunning. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Lüschen, Gunther. "Sociology of Sport:Development, Present State, and Prospects." American Review of Sociology (1980): 315-347.

Madge, John. The Tools of Social Sciences. New York: Anchor Books, 1965.

Mansfield,Roger. "Bureaucracy and Centralization:An

Examination of Organizational Structure." Administrative Science Quarterly 18 (December 1973): 77-78.

Martin, Roderick. "The Concept of Power:A Critical Defence." British Journal of Sociology 22 (September 1971): 240-256.

McPherson, Barry D. "Past, Present and Future Perspectives for Research in Sport Sociology." International Review of Sport Sociology 10 (1975): 55-72.

McPherson, J.Miller. "A Dynamic Model of Voluntary Affiliation." Social Forces 59 (March 1981): 705-728.

McPherson, J.Miller., and Smith-Lovin, Lynn. "Women and Weak Ties:Differences by Sex in the Size of Voluntary Organizations." American Journal of Sociology 87 (January 1982): 883-904.

Mechanic, David. "Sources of Power of Lower Participants in Complex Organizations." Administrative Science Quarterly 7 (1962): 349-364.

Meisel, J., and Lemieux, V. Ethnic Studies in Canadian Voluntary Associations. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972.

Merton, Robert K; Fiske, Majorie; and Kendall, Patricia L. The Focused Interview. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956.

Merton, Robert., ed. "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality." in Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press, 1957.

Merton, Robert. Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957.

Meyer, Marshall W. "Automation and Bureaucratic Structure." American Journal of Sociology 74 (November 1968): 256-264.

Meyer, Marshall W., and Brown, Craig, M. "The Process of Bureaucratization." American Journal of Sociology 83 (September 1977): 364-385.

Mills, C.Wright. The Sociological Imagination. New York: Oxford Press, 1959.

Mintzberg, Henry. The Structuring of Organizations. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1979.

Mouzelis, Nicos P. Organization and Bureaucracy: An Analysis of Modern Theories. Chicago: Aldine Publishing

Company, 1969.

National Sport and Recreation Centre. The Volunteer Leader in Physical Activity and Sport. Ottawa:1983.

Nixon, Howard L.II. "The Commerical and Organizational Development of Modern Sport." International Review of Sport Sociology 9 (1974): 107-131.

Page, Charles H. "Pervasive Sociological Themes in the Study of Sport." in Sport and Society: An Anthology, pp. 14-37. Edited by John T.Talmini and Charles H.Page. Boston: Little Brown, 1973.

Parkin, Frank., ed. "Strategies of Social Closure in Class Formation." in The Social Analysis of Class Structure. London: Tavistock, 1974.

Paton, Garth A. "Physical Education in Canada." Source unknown, 1975.

Perrow, Charles. Organizational Analysis: A Sociological View. London: Tavistock Publications, Ltd., 1970.

Perrow, Charles. Complex Organizations:A Critical Essay. 2nd ed. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1979.

Perrucci, C.C. "Minority Status and the Pursuit of Professional Careers: Women in Science and Engineering." Social Forces 49 (1970): 245-259.

Pettigrew, Andrew M. "Information Control as a Power Resource." Sociology 6 (May 1972): 187-204.

Pfeffer, Jeffrey. "Power and Resource Allocation in Organizations" in Psychological Foundations of Organizational Behavior, pp. 278-301. Edited by Barry M. Staw. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1977.

Pfeffer, Jeffrey, and Salancik, Gerald R. The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Perspective. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1978.

Pfeffer, Jeffrey. Power in Organizations. Massachusetts: Pitman Publishing Inc., 1981.

Pugh, D.S.; Hickson, D.J.; Hinings, C.R.; MacDonald, K.M.; Turner, C.; and Lupton, T. "A Conceptual Scheme for Organizational Analysis." Administrative Science Quarterly 8 (1963): 289-315.

Pugh, Derek S.; Hickson, D.J.; Hinings, C.R.; and Turner, C. "Dimensions of Organization Structure." Administrative

Science Quarterly 13 (1968):65-105.

Rose, Arnold M. Theory and Method in the Social Sciences. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954.

Rosen, B., and Jerdee, T.H. "Effects of Applicants Sex and Difficulty of Job Evaluations of Candidates for Managerial Positions." Journal of Applied Psychology 59 (1974): 511-512.

Salancik, Gerald R., and Pfeffer, Jeffrey. "Who Gets Power And How They Hold Onto It: A Strategic Contingency Model of Power." Organizational Dynamics 15 (Winter 1977): 3-21.

Shein, Virginia E. "Relationships Between Sex Role Stereotypes and Requisite Management Characteristics Among Female Managers." Journal of Applied Psychology 60 (1975): 340-344.

Schindler-Rainman , Eva., and Lippitt, Ronald. The Volunteer Community :Creative Use of Human Resources. 2nd ed. Fairfax, Virginia: NTL Learning Resources Corporation, 1975.

Schlagenhauf, Karl., and Timm, Waldemar. "The Sport Club as a Social Organization." International Review of Sport

Sociology 11 (1976): 9-30.

Schon, Donald. Beyond the Stable State. London: Temple Smith, 1971.

Scott, John C.Jr. "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations." American Sociological Review 22 (June 1957): 315-326.

Scott, R.I. "The Selection of Clients by Social Welfare Agencies: The Case of the Blind." Social Problems 14 (1967): 248-257.

Sherif, Carolyn W. "On Becoming Collegial While Being Woman." in The Proceedings of the Conference Women and Men - Colleagues in Management? The University of Texas at Austin, May 16th - 17th , 1975.

Shetty, Y.K. "Managerial Power and Organizational Effectiveness:A Contingency Analysis." Journal of Management Studies 15 (May 1978): 176- 186.

Sills , David L., ed. "Voluntary Associations." International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. New York: The Macmillan Company and Free Press, 1968.

Slack, Trevor. "Selected Characteristics of Volunteer Sport

Administrators." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1979.

Slack, Trevor., and Johnston, Lee Anne. "Toward a Sport Certification Certification Program." A paper presented at the 1982 CAHPER Conference, Montreal P.Q., June 22nd, 1982.

Slack, Trevor. "Volunteers in Amateur Sport Organizations:Biographic and Demographic Characteristics and Patterns of Involvement." A paper presented at the 1st Regional Symposium International Committtee for the Sociology of Sport, Vancouver, B.C., May 31st, 1981.

Slater, Carol. "Class Differences in Definition of Roles and Membership in Voluntary Associations Among Urban Married Women." American Journal of Sociology 65 (May 1960): 616-619.

Statistics Canada. Labour Force Activity Section: An Overview of Volunteer Workers in Canada. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1981.

Stern, Robert N. "The Development of an Interorganizational Control Network: The Case of Intercollegiate Athletics." Administrative Science Quarterly 24 (June 1979): 242-266.

Stinchcombe, Arthur L. "Social Structure and Organizations." in Handbook of Organizations, pp. 140-165. Edited by James G.March. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965.

Styskal, Richard A. "Power and Commitment in Organizations :A Test of the Participation Thesis." Social Forces 58 (March 1980): 925-943.

Theberge, Nancy. "A Comparison of Men and Women in Leadership Roles in Ontario Amateur Sport". A report submitted to the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1980.

Thompson, James D. Organizations in Action. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.

Udy, Stanley H.Jr. "Bureaucracy and Rationality in Weber's Organization Theory:An Empirical Study." American Sociological Review 24 (December 1959): 791-795.

Udy, S.H. "Administrative Rationality, Social Setting and Organizational Development." American Journal of Sociology 68 (1962): 299-308.

Wamsley, Gary L. "Power and the Crisis of the Universities" in Power in Organizations, pp. 50-58. Edited by Mayer

N. Zald. Nashville, Tennesseee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970.

Warriner, Charles K., and Prather, Jane Emery. "Four Types of Voluntary Associations." Sociological Inquiry 35 (Spring 1965): 138-147.

Webb, Harry. "Professionalization of Attitudes Towards Play Among Adolescents" in Aspects of Contemporary Sport Sociology, pp. 161 -178. Edited by Gerald S.Kenyon. Chicago: The Athletic Institute, 1969.

Weber, Max. Essays in Sociology. Edited by H.H.Gerth and C.Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.

Weber, Max. The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947.

Weber, Max. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958.

Weber, Max. On Charisma and Institution Building. Edited by S.N.Eisenstadt. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1968.

Weber, Max. Economy and Society. Edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1978.

Wertheim, Edward G. "Evolution of Structure in Voluntary Organizations: A Study of Thirty-Five Consumer Food Cooperatives." Journal of Voluntary Action Research 5 (January 1976): 4-15.

Willer, D., and Willer, J. Systematic Empiricism: Critique of a Pseudo-Science. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1973.

Williams, M.; Ho,L; and Fiedler, L. "Career Patterns :More Grist for Women's Liberation." Social Work 19 (1974): 463 -466.

Williams, Martha. "Women and Success in Organizations" in The Proceedings of The Conference Women and Men - Colleagues in Management? The University of Texas at Austin, May 16th -17th, 1975.

Women in Sport Leadership. Ottawa: Fitness and Amateur Sport, 1982.

Zacharias, Donald W. "Women and the Informal Organization" in The Proceedings of the Conference Women and Men - Colleagues in Management? The University of Texas at

Austin, May 16th -17th, 1975.